

The Supervision of Personnel

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The Supervision of Personnel

Human relations
in the management
of men

THIRD EDITION

Pfiffner and Fels
THE SUPERVISION OF PERSONNEL
Human Relations in the Management of Men
Third Edition

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Preface

The reader familiar with the previous edition of this volume will readily see that there are some rather substantial changes contained herein. These changes include a shift in major emphasis, the addition of totally new material, and the addition of a co-author. One change of note which will not be obvious to the reader, is the influence of the fine hand of one Patricia Fels, who spent countless hours assisting in all phases of the writing.

As far as the new co-author is concerned, suffice to say that he did not have to be coaxed in any way to accept the privilege of working with the senior author. Neither did he, as a long-time toiler in the field of *personnel development*, need to be persuaded that the emphasis in this edition might quite appropriately be on the *developmental approach*.

Although the change in emphasis is quite substantial, it does not constitute an about-face in basic philosophy from edition to edition. The present edition, rather, picks up an essential theme of the last—productivity and healthy employee relationships go hand-in-hand—and develops it in greater detail. In this effort a shift was made to the point of view that the superior-subordinate relationship is at the very center of organizational life, and much that happens around it is directly affected by its state of equilibrium.

It is further suggested that equilibrium-disequilibrium in the superior-subordinate relationship is controlled in great part by the opportunity for the intellectual and emotional growth within the relationship and within the organizational milieu. Obtaining such a growth atmosphere is of major concern in much of the exploration within the following pages.

The new material this volume contains, such as in the chapters titled “Supervision of Scientists,” “Supervision of Women,” and “Organizational Development,” reflects some of the major changes on the organizational scene. Thus, this material is included, and tied to the major emphasis, to help keep the reader informed of the kind of supervisory problems which will now be the object of increased attention.

All-in-all, the authors have attempted to range through a number of areas related to *The Supervision of Personnel*, more in an attempt to stimulate constructive inquiry than to suggest how-to-do-it’s—although we hope we have not neglected to include some of those also. It is our sincere wish that the reader will enjoy this volume as much as we enjoyed writing it.

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The Supervision of Personnel

Introduction

ONE

Toward a theory of supervision

Supervision in the work situation must first be considered in terms of the Latin origins of the word: “super” meaning over, and “vision,” of course, connoting sight or seeing. Hence, supervision in management means seeing from above, but with the additional implication of looking downward with authority. This is the very heart of supervision in management institutions because the eyes of the people are always focussed upward toward the boss, even in cases where they might resist his edicts or disapprove of his actions. Whether or not we like it—and very often we do not—the ominous and brooding presence of hierarchy colors our every action and thought, even though we may not be conscious of it. It is the all-pervading essence of organization life.

Chapter 1

This brief description suggests a great range of variables not dealt with in the words alone. It can serve only to whet the appetite of curiosity. Hopefully the discussions that follow will delve into many facets of the complex relationship of superior and subordinate—the supervisory relationship—and will in fact constitute a workable theory of supervision.

Basically a man-to-man relationship

In deciding upon a springboard from which to launch an investigation into a workable theory of supervision, we might well reconsider the fact that supervision is basically a man-to-man relationship. As such it must be carried on in an atmosphere that is permissive enough to allow the subordinate man to develop to his fullest capacity. This does not mean that the word “boss” has lost its vernacular connotation of whip-cracking. The human relations movement carried (at least to some) the implication that old-fashioned bossing had become passé, but more sober appraisal has brought the realization that a certain amount of “bossing” goes with

normal superior-subordinate relationships. Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* defines boss as a "master or superior, as a foreman or manager," colloquially meaning to "direct or superintend, especially officiously."

Colors one's life

For many a person this relationship with one's "boss" colors the whole fabric of his life. Indeed, would it not be correct to say that it is a major cause of anxiety among people who have to work for a living? In the first place, how many bear the secret grudge that he himself should have been selected instead of the one who is now his supervisor? If the subordinate does not feel keenly about this particular promotion himself, his life may still be dogged by it because of the ambitions of his wife or family. Second, the supervisor has to make decisions affecting such sensitive areas as pay, promotion, job assignments, and ratings of effectiveness. In so doing he probably goes contrary to the desires, wishes, and beliefs of those concerned; and this is so even when he acts in a most objective fashion. That is why union contracts and civil service regulations become ever bulkier in their attempts to limit the discretion of supervisors. While ostensibly such rules constitute efforts to regularize and routinize decision making, they are in a very real sense symbolic of the worker's fear of arbitrary treatment.

But the reader should not get the impression that the environment of supervision is conditioned only by a one-to-one relationship of boss to worker, because it is a multilateral relationship. Pffner and Sherwood postulated the construct of networks which modify the formal hierarchy; this was coupled with the theoretical possibility of depicting these networks by overlays which would be superimposed on the formal organization chart.¹ These networks included: the sociometric network, the decision network, the communications—feedback grid, the network of functional relationships, the power center network, the network of individual personalities, and the network of personal and institutional values. This construct of modifying networks, grids, or patterns of influence could be applied, with certain modifications, to illustrate the supervisory environment.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE

The superior-subordinate relationship is thus conditioned by the environment, or organizational climate, which is conditioned by many opposing forces. An environment conducive to good interpersonal relationships would be one that was in a state of equilibrium. Not static equilibrium, but dynamic equilibrium, which Scott describes as implying change, and

¹ John M. Pffner and Frank P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 16ff., see chart p. 207.

despite a changing environment, the ability of the system to preserve its internal structure of relationships.² Chapple and Coon further state that equilibrium, or states of equilibrium, are characteristic of both individuals and groups, and that individuals in a group adjust their interaction rates to each other. As they separately attain equilibrium, the group attains it likewise.³ It logically follows that the loss of equilibrium for a group member will affect others also. As the environment affects the person within it, that person also contributes to the environment up to some point of one force overbalancing the other.

Small group climate

Because it is extremely doubtful that the loss of equilibrium of a production worker at a west coast plant of the Chevrolet Division has much effect on the equilibrium of the corporate entity of General Motors, some consideration must be given to the relative importance of comparative group forces affecting equilibrium. This consideration is basic to many of the upcoming discussions.

There is no doubt that the total organization climate affects the members at the lowest level of the hierarchy. The first line of supervision does absorb some of this pressure, however, and each successively higher level of supervision does the same. Though it is true that supervision tends to some degree to add pressure, the total impact of overall organizational disequilibrium tends to be less sharp at successively lower hierarchical levels. The disequilibrium that the supervisor brings into the small group of which he is "master" is an upsetting force extremely important to considerations of the phenomena of organizational supervision. It is this small group beyond which the organization exists in shades of gray in which great damage can be done to the individual personality or within which, as Hare and his colleagues suggest, "the individual participant can 'get all the way around' and fill out his relationship to each other person by some direct interaction with him."⁴

Supervisor as motivator

Seldom does a supervisor escape, during his employment, the admonition to motivate his employees to greater production. These admonitions are generally made from a weak theoretical frame of reference, and tend to sound like pleas to do or die for good old Underarm Products, Incor-

² William G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management: A Behavioral Science Approach* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), pp. 221-2.

³ Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, "The Equilibrium of Groups," A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales (eds.), *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), p. 54.

⁴ See the Preface, A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), p. v.

porated. Research tends to indicate that the employee might be more realistically motivated by the behavior of his supervisor within the small group of which they are both members. The quality of supervision correlates with occurrence of absenteeism;⁵ employee satisfaction is greater under foremen who do a very good job of explaining the reasons for changes in labor standards;⁶ a high level of performance tends to be positively associated with supervisors' supportive behavior;⁷ and so forth.

Though this suggests the stress of upcoming observations, it in no way suggests that those observations will be limited to application at the first line of supervision alone. Supervision extends from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy linking successive work groups together as supervisors, alternately, are superiors in one group and subordinates in the second.

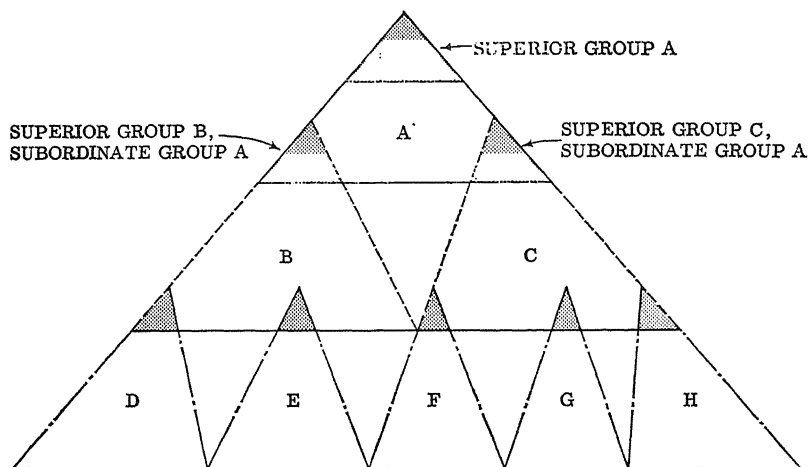


Figure 1.

This linking tends to regulate climate for good or otherwise, depending on the manner in which policy is suggested and carried out through these overlapping small groups. A basic assumption in this revision is that *the linking of small work groups through a superior-subordinate overlap has major implications for greater productivity through utilization of the "manageable" size, in an interpersonal sense, of these groups.*

⁵ Bryant F. Nagle, "Productivity, Employee Attitude and Supervisor Sensitivity," *Personnel Psychology*, 7:209-33, Summer 1954.

⁶ Gerald M. Mahoney, "Supervisory and Administrative Practices Associated with Worker Attitudes Toward an Incentive System." Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1953. Mimeograph.

⁷ Bernard P. Indik, Basil S. Georgopoulos, and Stanley E. Seashore, "Superior-Subordinate Relationships and Performance," *Personnel Psychology*, 14:357-74, Winter 1961.

Though the major emphasis of this writing will be upon a developmental approach for the individual employee and for the organization, financial and other more direct incentives are not rejected. The fact that they are set with little or no consideration of the importance of such incentives to development is a source of concern, however. Financial incentives are, too often, only indirectly at a supervisor's or foreman's disposal to use as such. On the other hand, supervisors do often have the opportunity to work with their subordinates, especially those who themselves are supervisors, toward actualization of potential and self-development. In the conclusions to a study of desirability of job features, Gruenfeld found those related to personal development ranked as most desirable. He suggested that within the limits of the sample used, motivation for self-development and actualization of potential loomed large in the motivational hierarchy of supervisors.⁸

The aura of charisma

Because of its apparent effect on the institutional climate, that which Max Weber called charismatic authority,⁹ must be noted. Charisma, in oversimplified terms, means the influence of the strong authoritarian personality. Napoleon and Hitler exercised such authority but the term can be applied to describe many of the characteristics of persons of lesser historical stature in workaday situations. For instance, the March 1962 issue of *Harper's* carried separate articles describing two contemporary American police executives who certainly manifested charismatic personal qualities; these and other observable cases lead one to ask whether police work, for instance, may call for charismatic leadership, or may cause those who naturally possess those qualities to emerge as leaders.

CLINICAL SUPERVISION

On the following pages terms such as clinical, therapeutic, therapy, and counseling will be used liberally. Their use here and in the current literature dealing with the organization constitutes a departure from the traditional uses of those words. *The New Century Dictionary*, for instance, defines clinic and clinical only in the framework of medical practice and illness. Various psychiatrically oriented definitions of therapy suggest that therapy, basically, relates to the treatment of disease. However, in modern usage, and with the advent of a greater number of disciplines becoming involved in the study of organizational effectiveness, these terms have come to be less associated with illness in the overall picture. They have

⁸ Leopold W. Gruenfeld, "A Study of the Motivation of Industrial Supervisors," *Personnel Psychology*, 15:303-14, Autumn 1962.

⁹ H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, translators, *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1946).

rather become associated with efforts to help individuals and groups to actualize and use their own creative potential. It is toward the end of realization of potential that these terms find their way into a theory of supervision. Their use is necessary to our primary assumption that *supervision is a developmental activity*.

Requirements

Aside from an atmosphere conducive to clinical supervision, the most important requirement is the ability, or potential ability, of the supervisor to practice this kind of superior-subordinate relationship. Selection of supervisors, it should be stated at the outset, should be done in a systematic manner. This is not a mere copybook maxim. There is sufficient proof, which is being constantly added to, that orderly and planned selection systems are superior to curbstone methods. The casual methods of the past have been shown to be costly and doubtful of validity and will not lead to clinical supervision.

The basic approach to discovering those who possess the prescribed requirements should itself be clinical. That is to say, such selection should be based upon consideration of all possible factors concerning the candidates. The collection of a wide range of objective observations about the candidates requires the utilization of many techniques, some of which are highly specialized in nature and belonging to various professional disciplines. Thus, the data necessary in determining one's suitability for supervisory responsibilities are physiological, psychological, sociological, and genealogical in nature. The information desired has to do with health, home, environment, intelligence, work history, temperament, etc.; therefore, the first step is the establishment of a system for the orderly collecting, filing, and analysis of such information.

This operation must be realistically carried on, perhaps in the personnel department, provided that unit has creative and imaginative leadership and does not merely conduct a stilted clerical operation. Training people should be closely associated with the process of collecting and analyzing the data, especially as that data pertains to the supervisory training which must follow. There should be a research program that, in the long run, attempts to ascertain the correlation between various items of data relative to trainees and their success, both in the training program and subsequently on the job. Above all, the pertinent information should be collected in a *highly professional manner and should be treated in observance of the highest professional ethic*.

Supervisory development

As will be discussed in detail at a subsequent time, the training and development of the supervisor should be carried on within the very clin-

ical atmosphere which the trainee is asked to attempt to create. It will be a major hypothesis of this book that *persons in supervisory positions can be conditioned to behave in their relations to others in a manner that will produce the most satisfactory interpersonal relationships and thus the most satisfactory management results.* This kind of training has most often carried the title of human relations training, but will be treated, not as a special kind of supervisory training effort, but as being sound methodology for supervisory training.

The basic problem in this kind of training centers on altering behavior and attitudes. Seashore¹⁰ suggests that traditional training programs have aimed more at imparting information and at developing skills than at modifying attitudes and creating conditions necessary for improvement in performance. He suggests that the provisions for imparting information and developing skill are not enough, but that two additional functions of training must be taken into account: modifying attitudes and creating opportunities for change. The conditioning of supervisors to practice clinical supervision is assumed to so do. This is not to suggest that the trainer of supervisors must be trained as a psychotherapist, but one should not rule out the possibility that some form of individual and social therapy may be a part of normal personnel procedure in the future.

The supervisor's therapeutic role

When trained, and experienced, the supervisor, as an underlying hypothesis relative to the concept of clinical supervision, *will behave in such a way that his relationship to his subordinates constitutes a therapeutic process;* therapeutic in the sense of creating an atmosphere within which attitudes can change rather than in the psychotherapeutic sense of employing clinical techniques to induce change. However, the difference may be a matter of semantics. In behaving so as to create this kind of atmosphere, the supervisor as leader of the group which is constituted by himself and his subordinates tends, as Gordon suggests, to become more emotionally mature, more socially effective, and more self-responsible.¹¹

Counseling

The question quite naturally arises as to just what a line supervisor, who is uninformed on medicine and psychology, can do in the way of behaving so that his relationship with his subordinates constitutes coun-

¹⁰ Stanley E. Seashore, "The Training of Leaders for Effective Human Relations," *Some Applications of Behavioral Science Research*, a report prepared for the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior and distributed in the United States through UNESCO Publications Center (New York: National Agency for International Publications, Inc., 1955).

¹¹ Thomas Gordon, *Group-Centered Leadership: A Way of Releasing the Creative Power of Groups* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955), p. 94.

seling. Let it be clearly understood that the counseling relationship suggested is between two persons who are relating within the bounds of what is generally considered to be normative behavior. Treating emotionally disturbed persons is not within the province of the supervisor, although the supervisor can be trained to recognize and refer those so disturbed. Certainly a supervisor can be trained so that he can refer the appropriate cases much as he might refer cases of physical illness. If his accuracy, in either case, is not perfect, so be it as long as he is able to make referrals without attaching stigma to himself or to the person referred.

Counseling that a supervisor does should not only be related to developmental need areas which either he or his subordinate easily perceive, but should go beyond. It most often will directly relate to performance of duty, but might well range into related emotional problems, for who is to separate the two? No supervisory manual will ever be able to tell a supervisor just what areas he may bring into discussions with his subordinate and which he should avoid; i.e., "talk freely about the absence which affects production, but if the employee wishes to express his feeling that the absence is caused by frustration in his sex life, change the subject." The subject matter brought into the counseling relationship and how it is handled will not be adequately legislated, but will rather be "controlled" by the skill of the supervisor, which skill he possesses because of the completeness of his selection and training. That the behavior a supervisor exhibits should conform to narrow defined limits, will not be an issue, nor form part of a theory of supervision. However, that his behavior is conducive to the growth of those he supervises, will receive major emphasis.

Coaching

Coaching relates to clinical supervision, and will be discussed as being a part of the methodology by which supervisors, especially those at the higher reaches of the hierarchy, can gain the skills necessary to assuming the role of clinical supervisor. No attempt will be made to make a case for using coaching only to train in some segregated area of supervisory and managerial skills. It is an approach to training the "whole person," and becomes integral to a basic premise that *development of employees is a line function*.

ANTIMANAGEMENT BIAS

The social science flavor of these considerations might suggest to the reader that there will be an antimanagement flavor to what follows, for it does often seem that social scientists do have such a bias, the origins of which go back to several sources. In the first place, they are critical of industrialization, as is evidenced by Mayo's writings and his citation of French sociologists of the nineteenth century who compared the new in-

dustrialization unfavorably with the previous organization of society. In the second place, they regard management as being authoritarian and manipulative in nature, which is evidenced by the fact that the question of manipulation comes up constantly to dog the conscience of those social scientists who are working in the applied fields; they are often imbued with the feeling that there is something sinful and dangerous in the power of one individual to govern the actions of another.¹² In the third place, they react against concepts of motivation based solely upon financial return; to them economic man has become a whipping boy.

But one would perhaps have to say that the main reason social scientists have reacted against concepts of scientific management is that, they say, the scientific managers have regarded man as a machine rather than as a human being. They decry the god of efficiency and condemn the goals of productivity as ends in themselves.

Antimanagement bias in supervisors

If on the pages that follow, the approach to examination of ingredients in a theory of supervision tends to be social-science-centered, does it tend to include negative reaction to concepts of scientific management? It so tends only to the extent that scientific management might force the supervisor into the role of middleman. In most organizations the supervisor, because of his ambivalent position in the hierarchy, will often see himself as more closely identified with the rank and file than with management. In times of personal stress, the supervisor may well feel that he does not have management support and thus appears to have an antimanagement bias.

Between the union and management

Some studies reveal that American working men see no conflict in "the coexistence of their company and their union. But much more; they want neither one to destroy the other. They want their union to respect their management. They want their management to give the union its right to a voice in determining working conditions."¹³ If this be the case, dual loyalty might become possible for the supervisor. However in recent years labor-management relations have appeared in a new light as far as public opinion seems concerned, for it is reported that the public sees traditional collective-bargaining procedures and labor-dispute laws, at least in major disputes, as not working to their satisfaction.¹⁴ In fact, as reported by Got-

¹² This feeling is so strong among anthropologists that the Society of Applied Anthropology has prepared a draft code of ethics to govern the manipulative phases of the anthropologists' work in the field.

¹³ Theodore V. Purcell, "Dual Allegiance to Company and Union-Packing House Workers," *Personnel Psychology*, 7:48-57, Spring 1954.

¹⁴ *Time*, February 8, 1963, p. 17.

terer, who made a study of management attempts to install predetermined time systems, the management of several companies studied attempted to gain acceptance of their new systems by appealing directly to the workers rather than by directing their efforts exclusively to the union officials.¹⁵

Though dual loyalty is possible for the supervisor, in the abstract, the very ebb and flow of the current of management-labor relations tends to create forces which put the supervisor between management and the organization representing the employee. If the force of this current is to be minimized and subsequent dual loyalty established as it naturally might, this entire examination must extend into those areas of superior-subordinate relationships throughout the entire hierarchy which will so lead.

CHANGE AGENT ROLE

Despite the somewhat tenuous position of the supervisor, he still appears to be in the best organizational position to answer recent social criticism which claims that our society is dominantly conformist in nature.¹⁶ This conformity is often fostered, though perhaps inadvertently, by the plethora of governing rules and regulations that haunt even smaller organizations. A basic hypothesis in this edition will be that *change in the organization will best be realized if the supervisory role incorporates the change agent role*. Within the chain of successive superior-subordinate relationships, change must be both permitted and stimulated, if in fact these two terms are mutually exclusive. Actually, there is every reason to believe, despite much evidence of resistance to change, "that resistance to change is not a monotonously uniform human trait."¹⁷ Part of the problem of conformity seems very closely related to lack of the perceived opportunity to change, or stated more succinctly, lack of supervisory willingness to permit change. The very act of behaving so as to make one's employees feel they can change casts the supervisor, automatically, in the role of change agent.

Supervisors train for change

The supervisor should be trained and the training of his subordinates should be his basic responsibility. Training has as its goal behavioral change, which ultimately constitutes organization change or development. Basic to many of the following suggested areas for consideration, it is hypothesized that *change in the supervisor, in the employee, and in the*

¹⁵ Malcolm H. Gotterer, "Union Reactions to Unilateral Changes in Work Measurement Procedures," *Personnel Psychology*, 14:433-50, Winter 1961.

¹⁶ David Riesman, and others, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

¹⁷ William G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management: A Behavioral Science Approach* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 231.

organization will be achieved to a significant degree only through continual, integrated training within the superior-subordinate relationship. In fact, training is seen as so important that this edition has an expanded emphasis on training amounting to ten chapters.

ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALITY

The traditionalists in the field of organization theory held in common the belief that management problems could be solved by application of an engineering approach alone, by which is meant mainly a mathematical approach. It was a faith in the slide rule, the drawing board, the ledger account. They would apply to the management world a rationality based upon the orderliness which they perceive in the physical world, but in so doing they omitted from their calculations the perversity of human nature.

It is interesting to note in passing that the new emphasis on decision theory has resulted in a more sophisticated theory of rationality. Beginning with Simon's view of the administrative decision maker as a satisficer rather than a maximizer, and Lindblom's characterization of him as one who muddles through, Nicolaidis developed a concept of administrative rationality more in keeping with the realities of human society.¹⁸ Administrative rationality consists of at least three models: classical rationality, normative rationality, and behavioral rationality. Classical rationality is the model of the scientific method wherein decisions are based on the canvassing of all alternatives, which in turn flow from availability of all possible data. Normative rationality is influenced by the value systems—or biases, if you will—of the decision maker. Behavioral rationality consists of taking into account the probable effect of the decision on others; it could also be termed political rationality.

The proper mix

"Much research has been conducted, and much more is needed, regarding the 'proper mix' of individual needs and organizational demands."¹⁹ Theories of administrative rationality as they now exist attempt to suggest mix as it is required for effective organizational effort. Whatever the mix may be, and whatever formula organizations may some day use to determine proper mix, it shall be an underlying assumption on the following pages that the development of the organization and its people will be the deciding variables in determining whether or not the proper result is attained.

¹⁸ John M. Pfiffner, "Administrative Rationality," *Public Administration Review*, 20:125-32, Summer 1961.

¹⁹ Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 2.

Organization development

Though alluded to, this term has not, as yet, been dealt with directly. Generally speaking, organization development is a phenomenon resulting from direct attempts to relate employee development, especially at the executive level, to attempts to develop the organization in an “organization and methods” sense. As it relates employee and organization development, it also tends to draw from different models of rationality toward a theory of supervision which in itself must not be devoid of rationality.

Human relations in management

The Human-Relations-in-Management Movement (HRIM) has been characterized as a gimmick, an anesthetic with which manipulative management can condition the human animal to go through his paces without recalcitrance. It has been accused of attempting to generate an artificial state of happiness¹ much in the same sense that religion has been called the opiate of the people by the Marxists.

Chapter 2

Thus it has been regarded with suspicion by at least two classes of persons: first, those of the McNair² and Whyte³ school who see it as undermining the spirit of individual responsibility, which they regard as so vital to the management of industry; and second, those humanists and social scientists who take a dim view of manipulation in general.

There never was a human relations movement in the sense that a group of people who called themselves human relationists met and organized themselves into a society in characteristic American fashion with a president, secretary, and board of directors. Indeed, there probably has not existed even an informal grouping of persons who would feel a strong enough professional bond so to identify themselves.⁴ Nevertheless, there has been a human-relations-in-management movement which can be identified with the twentieth century in much the same manner that the liberation of the human mind can be identified with the golden age of Greece

¹ For a critique of this view see James Menzies Black, "Farewell to the Happiness Boys," *Management Review*, 50:38, May 1961.

² Malcolm P. McNair, "What Price Human Relations," *Harvard Business Review*, 35:15, March-April 1957.

³ William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1957).

⁴ Tannenbaum sees such a group emerging. Robert Tannenbaum, "Some Current Issues in Human Relations," *California Management Review*, 2:49-58, Fall 1959.

and the birth of the institutions of political democracy is associated with the eighteenth century.

While it may sound a trifle grandiose, there is an essential truth in the statement that HRIM is a continuing phase of the evolution of free institutions which took root with the Greeks and for which Socrates died, reflowered in the Renaissance, and accelerated again in the eighteenth century with the British,⁵ French, and American Revolutions. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries firmly established the concepts and institutions of political democracy in the Western world. It is perhaps coincidental but nevertheless remarkable that the date which Americans associate with their freedom is that of the birth of the industrial revolution and the steam engine—1776.

In a sense, then, HRIM is merely a catchall designation for the attempt to devise free institutions for mankind's workaday activities. It is a rebellion against arbitrary power and authority in the bureaucratic milieu, using the term bureaucratic to designate large-scale organization whether industrial or governmental.

HRIM is revolutionary and evangelistic as represented in the labor movement; it is ethical and moralistic as exemplified in the value system of the social scientist discussed below;⁶ it is scientific as manifested in social science research; and it is pragmatic and empirical as evidenced in the compromise and adjustment which accompany the resolution of conflict. All of these aspects accompanied the long struggle for political democracy, and it seems understandable that they should remain present in the evolution toward some form of industrial democracy.

The term human relations came to the fore as the designation of a trend, if not a movement, in the late 1940's and early 1950's, although its roots go farther back. It would perhaps not be too far wrong to say that it was the cumulative effect of a variety of influences shaping the transformation of the human side of industry in the 1920's. The twentieth century will be noted for two great movements: (1) an amelioration of the harsher aspects of the boss-worker relationship and the heavy hand of hierarchy; and (2) the virtual elimination of physical drudgery through mechanization and automation. The first movement started in the decade of the 1920's and achieved maturity in the 1950's. The latter was called to public attention with the advent of Ford's assembly line and Model T in the first decade of the century, but the automation era can be dated from the 1950's with the development of the computer as a viable mechanism.

⁵ The term British Revolution is used advisedly even though the evolution of the British constitution spans many centuries. It was in the eighteenth century that the concept of the executive branch being responsible to Parliament finally jelled, Walpole generally being regarded as the first prime minister.

⁶ It also has a religious basis as manifested in the Papal Encyclicals directed toward economic justice, the Christian Socialist movements in European politics, and various social justice movements in Protestant circles.

The human relations movement came into existence prior to automation, gaining maturity almost simultaneously with the birth of the computer. It would be diverting to speculate about the effect of the computer on the human relations of the future, but here we are dealing with influences and events which predated that fascinating or infamous instrument, depending on one's vantage point.⁷

INDUSTRIALISM AND THE CONSCIENCE OF SOCIETY

Nineteenth-century industrialism was accompanied by—indeed, in many cases it produced—a great deal of human suffering and social pathology. It must be remembered that the modern industrial society in which we live has burst upon the world very recently, the steam engine appearing as late as 1776—*only yesterday*. The nineteenth century was marked by the birth of modern industrialism and its concomitant, finance-capitalism. It is customary to refer to the human travail accompanying the growth of industrialism in a tone which may lead to the inference that all human suffering began with the advent of the factory system. Such an assumption is, of course, nonsense, because any casual reading of English social history will reveal the widespread poverty and degradation among the London populace before the industrial revolution.⁸

The principal social change brought about by industrialism was the transfer of residence from the villages and countryside to the factory sites, in other words urbanization. This is still going on in the United States, as witnessed by the decline of agricultural employment and the rural small town and the corresponding burgeoning of city population. But here we are not concerned with social history *per se* but rather with the significance of this movement to our main topic, which is human relations in industry. Urbanization has led to what Elton Mayo called the “seamy side of progress.”⁹ People accustomed to the hitherto rather simple economic pursuits of fishing and agriculture had developed a centuries old social system which kept deviant behavior at a minimum. In terms of modern social theory, individuals played established roles and their responses to the role and status of others were largely traditional and intuitive, thus producing a stable society.

When these people were transferred to urban slums, social control by village elders, church, clan, and family broke down. Many became itinerant, with constantly changing and ill-defined social roles. This led to a condition of rootlessness, or a situation described by a term that turns up

⁷ Some insights are suggested in L. R. Foick, Jr., “Seven Deadly Dangers in EDP,” *Harvard Business Review*, 40:88-96, May-June 1952.

⁸ Charles Reith, *The Blind Eye of History* (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1952).

⁹ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1945), p. 3ff.

increasingly in sociological literature—*anomie*.¹⁰ Webster describes it as a condition of normlessness or lawlessness; it is “a state of society in which normative standards of conduct and belief are weak or lacking.”¹¹ The urban industrial slums brought to many a life of squalor and aimlessness, the rebellion against which led to acts of crime.

Admittedly, we are using only black and white and painting with broad strokes of the brush in an area where accurate depiction would require various shades of gray, but this is done in an attempt to show why American management was ready for a human relations movement in the 1940's. Growing conditions of social pathology caused largely by the industrial system were bringing to a head various movements that, in their total manifestation, resulted in an arousing of the American social conscience.

The internal system

If the external forces of society were developing pathological symptoms as a result of growing industrialization, so were internal management practices contributing to the eventual showdown with humanitarianism. Students of the history of social reform are familiar with the abuses that led to the enactment of laws restricting child labor and improving the working conditions of women. The workmen's compensation laws of the turn of the century reversed the traditional common law of master and servant, which for generations had placed the burden of proof on the worker in case of injury. The new laws recognized social responsibility, thus giving concrete manifestation to the new social conscience in practice.

The ten- and twelve-hour day was common practice. Many readers will remember the agitation relative to the twelve-hour day in the steel industry: this was twelve hours for seven days with a double shift once per week when the day and night shifts reversed. In 1920 a social worker by the name of Whiting Williams became a laborer in the steel mills in order to experience at first hand the kind of life which laborers lived.¹² Using the diary as a vehicle for recording, Williams depicts a rather unpretty picture; but, rereading it after forty years, one is impressed by the mildness of his judgments and his findings of a genuine folksy good will among not only the workers but the supervisors. He attributes human discontent with supervision to chronic fatigue which induces temper among foremen. Soon thereafter the twelve-hour day was abandoned, but it is not out of context to note—with the ghosts of Tawney and Weber peering over one's

¹⁰ It did not appear as an entry in the original edition of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

¹¹ *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1963).

¹² Whiting Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921).

shoulder¹³—that a famous steel executive of that day, with Calvinistic sanctimony, is alleged to have justified the twelve-hour day as in harmony with the natural order decreed by the deity.¹⁴

THE REFORMERS

The abuses arising out of the more sordid practices of industrialism gave rise to clamor for social reform from a wide variety of sources. The British were more articulate than we were on this side of the Atlantic, perhaps because they experienced the factory system before we did, and also because we had the vast frontier to absorb the energies of discontent and protest. There were attempts to escape from it all through the idealistic utopian communities both here and in Europe, but these were for the most part failures, serving mainly to add impetus to protest. The last half of the nineteenth century was the great era of social reform as manifested by the great reform statutes that were in turn generated by a series of Royal Commissions¹⁵ of Inquiry, in many respects the most noteworthy agent of social change in the modern world. It had become trite among students of social reform to say that social legislation in the United States followed Great Britain, very similar in substance and direction but lagging by thirty years.

The novels of Dickens, while not laid directly in the factory, nevertheless depicted the poverty of life among the common people and are given high status as agents of social change. The researches and writings of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, while more a product of the twentieth century, are symbolic of an intellectual ferment which spanned the two centuries and gave rise to such manifestations as the Fabian Society, which at one time included such notable literary figures as George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells. Indeed, British intellectuals were in no small way active in the rise of the Labor Party, which is one respect in which British and American experience differed. American labor has preferred to act through existing political parties rather than enter the arena of politics on its own.

Too much credit cannot be given to the muckrakers of the first decade of the century, including such critics of the industrial scene as Upton Sinclair. There can be little doubt but that his description of labor and living conditions in the Chicago meat-packing industry did much to arouse public sentiment with the publication of *The Jungle*. There will be many still living who remember the tone of social criticism in *McClure's* magazine,

¹³ Reference here is, of course, to Max Weber and the Protestant Ethic, and R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Mentor Books, paper). Originally published by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., in 1926.

¹⁴ His views were not entirely metaphysical because the process of steel making is continuous and it could be argued that long shifts are desirable.

¹⁵ See criticism of Royal Commissions in Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study* (London: Longmans, Green & Company, Ltd., 1932), p. 142ff.

where two of the best known held forth, Ida M. Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens.¹⁶

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought the birth of international communism as a threat to the way of life characterized by industrial capitalism. While it might be difficult to relate this event directly to the rise of the human relations movement, it is nevertheless significant that the major developments as to HRIM came soon thereafter. The stark spectre of the communist menace must surely have served as a reminder to management in the Western world that defensive steps should include some sort of amelioration of industrial abuses and rapprochement of management and workers.

THE RISE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The intensification of social science research in the twentieth century is both a cause and symptom among the forces which gave rise to the human-relations-in-management movement. The word "intensification" is used here because of the realization that some variety of social science research has perhaps been going on since man's earliest recording of his activities in papyrus and clay. In a sense, the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror was social science research even though it was directed toward the utilitarian goal of tax collection. The origin of the modern social survey is credited to the French sociologist Le Play around 1850.¹⁷ The first American survey was conducted in Pittsburgh by Paul U. Kellogg in 1909, but the most influential landmark was the Lynds' *Middletown* in 1929.¹⁸ This was an attempt to capture a cross section of community life by a group of trained social scientists. The scene was Muncie, Indiana. Many similar studies were to be undertaken in the decades to follow, for instance W. Lloyd Warner's multivolume *Yankee City* study which draws added interest as being the locale of J. P. Marquand's novel, *Point of No Return*, in which Warner was depicted (not by name, however) as one of the characters. The locale was Newburyport, Massachusetts.

The Hawthorne studies at Western Electric were conducted in the 1920's but the definitive report was not published until 1939.¹⁹ Criticized by orthodox social scientists for lack of rigorous methodology, it still stands as one of the most influential studies of the century. This is partly due to the fact that it dramatized a discovery that seems like the obvious

¹⁶ Arthur M. Weinberg, *The Muckrakers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1962).

¹⁷ See entry "Social Survey" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

¹⁸ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1929).

¹⁹ F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

today, namely, the credo that factories are social institutions. The drama came in the suspense of the unpredictable effect of environmental changes on the productivity of the girls in the relay assembly test room. The work is sometimes criticized because it was conducted in a nonunion shop, but this was just prior to the great unionizing drive in American industry.²⁰

We have stated elsewhere, and still believe, that the Hawthorne study was important as an instrumentality of social change because of the prestige of its sponsors in the eyes of the business community. These were the Bell Telephone System, the Harvard Business School, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The human-relations-in-management movement acquired respectability.

The socialization of wealth

A most outstanding development in the area of American capitalism—and one which is either not understood, or at least not driven home in our propaganda to the neutralist world—is the *socialization of wealth*. While rich men have engaged in benevolence and philanthropy through history, the rise of the great (and small) foundations is surely a phenomenon of the twentieth century and characteristically American. Furthermore, these foundations have become agents for social change, not deliberately or by conscious choice and probably sometimes without approval of the founding family. It is noteworthy that Elton Mayo, in his preface to the Hawthorne report, should state that but “for an endowment from the Rockefeller Foundation, Harvard University would have been unable to permit so many men to participate in an inquiry that has developed, at a varying pace, over a period of twelve years.”²¹ In 1929 President Hoover appointed a Research Committee on Social Trends which issued a monumental report containing papers by the eminent social scientists of that day. The published report states that it was “indebted to the Rockefeller Foundation for the generous grant of funds which made the investigations possible.”²²

Andrew Carnegie dedicated practically his entire fortune to the welfare of mankind before he died. Currently the mammoth Ford Foundation is not only financing but is actually stimulating projects dedicated to research and action across the entire spectrum of human activity from juvenile delinquency at home to the training of government officers in India. This form of the socialization of wealth is not only symptomatic of the human-relations-in-management movement: it is an important phase of it,

²⁰ See chapter entitled “Criticisms of the Mayo School” in Henry A. Landsberger, *Hawthorne Revisited* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958).

²¹ Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

²² *Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1933), p. xxvii.

because it is a manifestation of the readiness of American industrial ownership to accept a phase of the evolution toward industrial democracy.²³

The genesis of industrial democracy

When dealing with such a concept as "industrial democracy," one will be expected to attempt some definition of terms. There are perhaps as many definitions of democracy as there are people, an outstanding example of variance from our own norms being the Russian practice of referring to communist regimes as democratic. For our purposes democracy is the resolution of conflict through consultation and mutual consent. If that definition is accepted there certainly has been a tremendous growth of industrial democracy in this century. In utilizing such broad strokes of the brush, it becomes necessary to make some arbitrary selections; so for present purposes the genesis of industrial democracy in America could be set, at least symbolically, as being triggered by the strike against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in 1913. The so-called Ludlow incident resulted in violence during which several people were killed.²⁴ The company was controlled by the Rockefellers, toward whom much of the public ill-feeling was directed. Coming so soon after the Standard Oil dissolution, and at a time when there had been a definite desire to change a hitherto unfavorable image, the younger Rockefeller took steps to prevent similar happenings in the Standard Oil domain.

It may seem somewhat incongruous to suggest that a future prime minister of Canada was to act as an agent of social change in helping to bring industrial democracy to the United States, but such was the case. Mackenzie King, an economist and labor relations specialist, was working for the Rockefeller Foundation, when he was placed on John D. Jr.'s personal staff in 1914 to advise the latter relative to the settlement of the Colorado strife. Fosdick says: "It was Mackenzie King who by some rare providence appeared at this moment in answer to a need."²⁵ There was established at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company an Employee Representation plan which became the model for similar arrangements at Standard Oil refineries, particularly the Bayonne refinery of Standard of New Jersey, where there had been a strike in 1915.²⁶

This led to the establishment of Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., by the Rockefellers in 1922. The employee representation plan spread to

²³ For an excellent history of the metamorphosis of the Rockefeller mind relative to philanthropy, and growing social consciousness, see Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), Vol. II, pp. 463-714.

²⁴ Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr. A Portrait* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956), pp. 143-66. See also Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 666ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁶ Clarence J. Hicks, *My Life in Industrial Relations* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1941), p. 79ff.

many other lines of industry. It was of course branded as a device for resisting unionization and the councils were dubbed company unions by some critics. Most of the councils ceased to exist after the successful unionization moves of the 1930's, but some continued to exist in plants which elected to retain them as representation under the new National Labor Relations Act. They were symbolic of a new era in American labor relations and as such they marked a certain milestone in the gradual unfolding of the human-relations-in-management movement which was to reach its full flowering about 1950.

The National Labor Relations Act

Management was essentially hostile to labor unions and collective bargaining, and there is little doubt that the Employee Relations Council movement was designed to head off unionization. This statement is not intended to impugn the motives of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., or his colleagues.²⁷ While unionization had made much progress in industries such as steel and coal mining during the 1920's, the great impetus came with the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which called for government-supervised elections and required management to bargain with unions in those cases where the employees chose to do so. The act even went so far as to limit seriously management's freedom to influence these elections. The net result was the widespread unionization of blue-collar workers and the grudging (even to this day) acceptance by management of collective bargaining as a normal way of life.

Human relations as antiunion serum

The human relations movement came under a certain cloud as being a manipulative device for resisting unionization, on the one hand, and, on the other, for minimizing the power and influence of the union already in the plant. There can be little doubt that there was some validity in these charges, at least in particular cases. The ethical issue of manipulation is omnipresent and will be referred to later in discussing the value systems of social scientists, who are more bothered by it than management people. Management is an applied discipline devoted to getting things done, and as such it must by its very nature be manipulative. The ethical issue which management must face is how to prevent practices that are anti-social in the larger sense and inimical to the development of people.

This chapter is intended to present an explanation of the rise and con-

²⁷ The senior author has talked personally with Mr. Hicks and other members of Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., and found them to be dedicated men who sincerely believed that the council movement was the answer to conflict between management and labor. They resented the implication that the councils were company unions.

tent of the human-relations-in-management movement. A statement of the record would be incomplete without noting that there was an antiunion element in some phases of the movement.

THE MATURATION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The human-relations-in-management movement is in no small degree a product of the maturation of the social sciences during the first half of the twentieth century. Psychometry, which constitutes in many respects the foundation for experimental psychology, gained its scientific swaddling clothes with the Stanford-Binet approach to intelligence testing and its popularization as a management device through the Army Alpha test in 1917-18. Clinical psychology, if not nestored by Freud, was at least given a tremendous impetus by him. Anthropologists have modified their dominant concern with primitive peoples to venture into factory, farm, and urban life. Indeed, there is now a Society for Applied Anthropology which commands a considerable degree of professional respectability. Articles on industrial sociology fill a considerable portion of the professional journals, particularly those reporting studies of work groups and bureaucracy. The fact that it is often difficult to determine precise boundary lines between these disciplines—for example sociology and social psychology—has led to considerable interdisciplinary collaboration as well as the emergence of the generic designation “behavioral sciences” to serve as a sort of catchall.²⁸

The word “maturation” is used advisedly because the social studies have grown in stature in the scientific community, due to two principal causes. The first is that the social scientists have become more rigorous in their research methodology and requirements for proof. The second arises from the realization on the part of the older scientific disciplines that their own further discoveries are limited by lack of knowledge relative to the human factor. Thus psychiatry now recognizes that mental health is a social problem, and there is developing a new discipline of social psychiatry with not only its M.D. based principals, but the auxiliary team made up of anthropologists, social workers, psychologists, and sociologists.²⁹ The military has also come to embrace, foster, and finance social science research, the Office of Naval Research³⁰ perhaps deserving credit for giving the original impetus in the 1940's to such psychologists as Likert, Shartle, and Guilford.

²⁸ Note the professional periodical entitled *The Behavioral Scientist* with the subtitle “the proper use of men and measures,” published at Princeton, N.J.

²⁹ F. L. W. Richardson, *Talk, Work, and Action* (Ithaca, N.Y.: The Society for Applied Anthropology, 1961).

³⁰ For a symposium on current research being fostered by the Office of Naval Research see Luigi Petrullo and Bernard M. Bass (eds.), *Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961).

It is no happenstance that psychology should receive the original and continuing recognition of the older sciences because it has been most consistent in its demands for proof of reliability and validity. Of all social scientists the Ph.D. in psychology, especially experimental, has been subjected to the most rigorous training in statistical and scientific method. Indeed the experimental psychologist is a thorn in the side for his clinical brethren who are more pragmatically inclined to work with what they now know instead of waiting for proof. For instance the clinician is more content to utilize projective tests, whereas the experimentalist tends to be skeptical of their validity. The dyed-in-the-wool experimentalist is likely to have a chill run up his spine when counseling the sweet young thing who wants to become a clinician but to limit her technical training to the administration and interpretation of the Rorschach Test.

It is interesting to note that the anthropologists have received professional recognition from the older scientific societies in spite of the fact that cultural anthropology is essentially descriptive rather than experimental. There are probably two reasons for this. The first is that the methodology of anthropology is based firmly in field work and the gathering of data. The second reason is that physical anthropology and archaeology are related to medicine and physiology. Perhaps there is a third consideration, namely, that the cultural anthropologist has not been a moralizer about how people should behave. If he has a value system, it is based on the premise of noninterference in the lives of others. Indeed, the cultural anthropologist deplores the vanishing of primitive cultures through contact with Western civilization.

Sociology is becoming ever more experimental and therefore "scientific." The senior author was sitting in a waiting room with a sociologist who received his doctorate from Chicago when that department was manned by the distinguished team of the 1920's and 1930's. He held in his hand a copy of a sociological journal and remarked, somewhat ruefully, that he could no longer read the journals because the articles contained too much statistical methodology. This is what is going on even in political science, which has traditionally been less concerned with methodology in spite of the fact that it is the only social discipline that contains the word "science" in its title. Economics has always had a statistical base, but now it is going behavioral which, at least according to one viewpoint, is a sign of maturity.

The building blocks

The most mature review and evaluation of the human relations movement to date has come from the pen of William H. Knowles.³¹ He states

³¹ William H. Knowles, "Human Relations in Industry: Research and Concepts," *California Management Review*, 1:87-105, Fall 1958. His bibliographical notes are exceedingly rich.

that the original human relations researchers sought means of adjusting men to machines, feeling that the perfection of communication devices would lead to understanding and hence to the reduction of conflict. This manipulative approach has now been abandoned in favor of a search for a better understanding of the industrial environment. This has led to a probe of the relation of environment to mental health, particularly on the part of clinical psychologists and cultural anthropologists.

Knowles says that the interrelated building blocks of human relations are personality, primary group, organization, and culture. The two personality problems are the authoritarian personality so prevalent in industry and the frustration-aggression pattern arising out of the organization of modern industry and urban living. The importance of the work group in such matters as motivation and communication explains why social psychologists and sociologists and group dynamicists concentrate on that area. Interest in the study of organization has been stimulated by the authoritarian nature of leadership—a cause of much frustration. The democratic nature of American culture makes it difficult to adjust to this authoritarian environment and has led the human relationists to study the culture of the business environment. Human relations training has been particularly thwarted by finding that the content of training cannot be practiced on the job because the social climate is not congenial.

THE ADVENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE VALUES

The last thirty years have witnessed the entry of the psychologist, the sociologist, and the anthropologist into the study of organization. Indeed they are making the principal contribution to its study and are now beginning to influence its practice. The important consideration for our purposes is to understand that these people bring a set of values (or biases) which are in many respects diametrically opposite to those held by the traditionalists as set forth above.

The social scientists have taken over the study of organization and in doing so they have brought their own preconceived system of values relative to the nature of man and of society.³² They have a set of values which is highly humanitarian, democratic, people-centered, and oriented in ideas of social justice; and they are imbued with concepts of the dignity of man, personal freedom, and permissive leadership. The latter is particularly true of the group dynamicists who see leadership emerging from within the group and based upon the consent of those who are led. They react against traditional notions of authority, and the concepts of hierarchy seem to jar their sensibilities.

³² See John M. Pffner, "Why Not Make Social Science Operational?" *Public Administration Review*, 22:109-114, September 1962.

VOICES OF DOUBT AND DISSENT

It was inevitable that there should have been a reaction, and the so-called "human relations" movement became the whipping boy. It was perhaps natural and convenient to assume that everyone advocating more attention to the human factor was in favor of trying to make workers happy at all costs. Yet this in itself was a distortion of what the leaders of the human relations movement meant. The issue was most articulately joined by William H. Whyte, Jr., in his *Organization Man*, in which he cried out against *groupthink*, and criticized the new social ethic on the basis that it would inhibit the emergence of the entrepreneurial spirit. This theme was to come up again and again in the utterances of men like Clark Kerr, Malcolm P. McNair, and Robert N. McMurry. Whyte called for a resurrection of the Protestant Ethic and a resurgence of the individualism implicit in Calvinism.

The Three Macks

It seems sure that it is only a happenstance that three of the voices of protest, disillusionments, or misgivings should have come from descendants of the Gaelic Macks: McNair, McMurry, and McGregor.

Malcolm P. McNair is a professor in the Harvard Business School, an institution that has some claim to being the nestor of the human relations movement. In an article entitled, "What Price Human Relations?" he had some frequently caustic observations to make.³³ After noting how businessmen tend to go in for fads and fashions, he labeled the human relations movement not only as such but also a cult. He then devoted several pages to what seems to be the main burden of his discontent, namely, that a human relations approach saps the individual of responsibility. Attention is taken away from the job and getting things done and focussed upon people and their relations. This undermines discipline, deemphasizes personal responsibility for doing a day's work, and creates a never-never land in which happiness is the goal. A streak of Calvinism enters via the statement that human friction is not only normal but desirable; the promised land is to be attained only through pain and the sweat of the brow.

Robert N. McMurry is a consulting psychologist who—if he ever possessed the social science value system outlined above—has undergone considerable disillusionment. He states flatly that democratic management will not work, primarily because people will not allow it to. The men at the top are autocratically structured and the people below want to be followers rather than otherwise. Middle management people are so insecure that they structure a bureaucratic system that will give them a

³³ *Harvard Business Review*, 35:15-39, March-April 1957.

maximum of security. Decision-making automatically gravitates to the top because that is the way members of the organization want it. As an alternative to democracy, McMurry advocates a system which he dubs "benevolent autocracy."³⁴ He advocates the practice of a "humanistic, democratic philosophy of management" based on a consciousness of the desirability of using more participative methods. Essentially what he advocates is a combination of good organization and methods practice with benevolent but manipulative human relations, all accomplished under the firm hand of a compassionate and just Jehovah at the throttle.

Douglas McGregor is a psychologist who, according to his own confessions, brought to the role of being a college president the concept of permissive leadership that constitutes such an important ingredient of the social scientists' value system. Contact with the reality of organization life caused him to revise his theories. He operated in the beginning in accordance with the precepts of the human relations model as he saw it. He played the role of advisor rather than boss; he sought approval of his colleagues, attempting to minimize conflict and discord through agreement. He said that he could not have been more wrong. He found that he could not escape the responsibility for tough decisions and that a leader cannot avoid the exercise of authority.³⁵

THE SHIFTING PREMISES OF BELIEF

The twentieth century has witnessed a shifting in the premises of belief in most fields of human activity, away from absolutism and toward relativism. Expressed in terms of antagonistic poles, what has been taking place in many other fields of endeavor is aptly illustrated in criminology, where the classical school opposes the positive or behavioristic. The former, embraced by the police, holds to the Calvinistic premise that one who commits a crime is morally responsible and master of his own free will. The latter, more widely held by probation, parole, and corrections workers, views the criminal as ill, a product of his environment and not personally responsible for his behavior.

Positivism in management

Two outstanding manifestations of this neopositivism are offered in modern management theory as applied to the nature of authority. First is the theory of authority advanced by a very respectable oracle in the form of the late Chester A. Barnard, who spent a long and active life as an ex-

³⁴ Robert N. McMurry, "The Case for Benevolent Autocracy," *Harvard Business Review* 36:82-90, January-February 1958.

³⁵ Warren G. Bennis, "Revisionist Theory of Leadership," *Harvard Business Review*, 39:26ff., January-February 1961; Douglas M. McGregor, "On Leadership," *Antioch Notes*, pp. 2-3, May 1959.

ecutive of the Bell Telephone System.³⁶ Barnard questions the age-old concept of authority as flowing from the top down. The members of an organization vary at any one time, and individuals differ from time to time, as to the effort which they will put forth in furthering the objectives of the organization. In other words, the command concept of motivation is conditioned by the willingness of followers to respond.³⁷ This has been referred to approvingly by another industrialist as bottom-up management.³⁸

The second bulldozer clawing at the monolithic structure of traditional authority is the small group (group dynamics) movement which views authority as springing from within the group itself. A very cohesive work group can thus set its own standards of behavior and productivity which may be contrary to those which management has set. Indeed one recent study of work groups in an industrial setting referred to these social clusters as "frozen" groups, meaning that they had so congealed that workers responded to group standards rather than those of management.³⁹

It is manifest that this new sophistication relative to the social nature of the work environment has tremendous implications from the standpoint of worker motivation. It explains why training, for instance, is increasingly based upon the concepts of personal interaction and group therapy.⁴⁰

Behavioral orientation of the new decision theory

Behaviorism has even entered the realm of decision-making to question orthodoxy in such areas as the processes of rationality. The new sophistication views thought processes as not only cerebral but also influenced by gut-phenomena, emotions, power, and politics. Stimulated by Barnard, Herbert Simon has become this generation's pace setter in the study of organization based on his view that the proper unit for the study of organization is the decision. Simon has dredged from the obscure bottom reaches of Webster the verb "to satisfice," which in many respects exemplifies the fabric of the new behaviorism. The decision maker does not make

³⁶ For a brief biographical sketch of Barnard see William B. Wolf, "Chester I. Barnard (1886-1961)," *Journal of the American Academy of Management*, 4:167-73, December 1961.

³⁷ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 92-94.

³⁸ William B. Given, *Bottom-Up Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1949).

³⁹ A. Zaleznik and others, *The Motivation, Productivity, and Satisfaction of Workers* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1958). See also Ralph M. Stogdill, *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1959).

⁴⁰ See the chapters on sensitivity training in Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, and Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961).

a theoretically perfect decision but rather a satisfactory one in view of the limited data at his disposal and the influences at work. He is a "satisficer."⁴¹

Basic shift

A mature human relations movement could not have come into existence without another development, namely, the maturation of the social sciences. Based, in the beginning, on a humane value system they gradually acquired a methodology of investigation which increasingly demanded more objectivity and proof. The new behaviorism led to a questioning of the credos of orthodox organization theory and the stilted engineering rationalism of scientific management.

⁴¹ Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 2nd edition, 1957), p. xxv.

Jobways and folkways

The discovery and recognition of the human factor constitutes the single most important ingredient of the human-relations-in-management movement. There will be those who will protest that traditional management did not ignore the human factor. Economists, especially those of the new behavioral school, will react with some feeling against being caricatured as devotees of economic man to the exclusion of all other ways of looking at the human animal. Some of the original disciples of Taylor, particularly a few camp followers in the original Taylor Society, were dominated by social values and were wont to characterize Taylor as a genuine humanist. Indeed, they reacted with considerable resentment to any intimation that the scientific management movement ignored the human factor. Indeed, Taylor attracted the interest of many social workers and those with philanthropic inclinations.

Chapter

3

The fact remains, however, that traditional management tended to view the worker as an instrumentality of production along with machines and raw materials. Hence, the human-relations-in-management movement is essentially a reaction against this view of the worker as merely a mechanism who must adapt himself to the requirements of an impersonal system. It is a reaction against not only the indifference of management to man as a human being but also a symptom of the growing role in American life of bureaucracy, namely large-scale organization whether industrial, educational, or governmental. One of the principal characteristics of Weber's model of bureaucracy was its impersonal nature. The human-relations-in-management movement emerged as an identifiable entity during those decades when Americans were deserting farm and village life and becoming pawns in the chess game of bureaucracy. Hence HRIM is a natural reaction that attempts to make the bureaucratic way of life more satisfying and tolerable.

BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

"Bureaucracy" is a synonym for large-scale organization. The modern rationalization of bureaucracy as a universal, omnipresent, and unavoidable phenomenon is attributed to Max Weber.¹ In other words, we have bureaucracy with us whether we want it or not, and we must learn to live with it and mould it to our needs. The outstanding characteristic of bureaucracy from the standpoint of the study of human relations is its impersonal nature. Weber characterized it as the "dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality, *sine ira et studio*, without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm." Bureaucratic organization tends to suppress the personal element; the "dominant norms are concepts of straightforward duty without regard to personal considerations."²

The all-pervading presence of hierarchy

Another characteristic of bureaucracy is the hierarchical arrangement of authority wherein the dominant official relationship is that between superior and subordinate. The larger the organization the greater is the need to write out the desired official relationships in rules and regulations, to spell out the duties of each occupant of a position and to establish legal standards of conduct and responsibility. The dominant structure is pyramidal, each subordinate reporting to an official superior who in turn looks toward his own boss along a "chain of command" which narrows at each successive level until there is a single commander at the top. Weber stated that there is no alternative to the hierarchical structure of authority in large-scale organizations. Mankind must live and work in hierarchies, but he does not like it; he is in a constant state of rebellion against hierarchical authority. To be sure, this rebellion may not be overt and manifested in revolutionary subversive action; more often it takes the form of subtle resistance as manifested in refusal to meet officially-established production standards. The problem of human relations in management—and the cause of its rise as a twentieth-century movement—is the need to adjust the human animal to an artificial way of life that has been created by the impersonal hierarchies in which he must live and work. In order to understand why this is so, it seems desirable to take a look at the way man organizes himself when living in an indigenous rural society, a condition common to our ancestors and from which modern technological man is not too far removed.

¹ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Henderson and Parsons translation (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1947).

² Weber as quoted in Robert K. Merton and others, *Reader in Bureaucracy* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1952), p. 27.

Folk society versus bureaucracy

Robert Redfield has contrasted the primitive folk society with our modern urban mode of life, in the belief that this contrast will enable us to understand ourselves better.³ This contrast will be helpful if one accepts the following propositions: (1) modern man is not far removed historically, culturally, and chronologically from life in a folk society; (2) elements of folk society behavior tend to survive in our urban milieu; (3) much of our difficulty today springs from the anachronism of persistent survival of folkways unsuited to modern living. What, then, are the characteristics of a folk society?

In order to make this transposition of Redfield's primitive folk society to the United States of 1970, we must realize that nineteenth-century America was largely rural and small town. The senior author was born into a small town society of rural mid-America without electricity, telephones, sewers, or paved streets. His mother never left her native state; and he saw the first primitive chugging automobile to come there. When it is realized that the nineteenth-century American typically came from this kind of environment—and that the vast flood of immigrants around the turn of the century came dominantly from either peasant European backgrounds or ghetto urban isolation—the viability of the folk society concept as applied to modern organization and management becomes more apparent.

The characteristics of a folk society

It must be remembered that Redfield is using broad strokes of the brush and that each of the following characteristics is relative, particularly as applied to our modern urban industrial society. But it is felt that they are nevertheless *relevant* to modern man's attempt to understand himself. A folk society was more or less isolated, the members thereof living in and upon themselves. Books were absent, and communications were oral. There was a similarity of habits and sentiments, and people tended to conform to expected behavior; the folkways were conventionalized. There was not much division of labor, each person being able to do what the other did, and this was so of American farm life until very recently when the veterinarian, for instance, became so indispensable. The technology was simple.

The folk society was sacred in that supernatural explanations and sanctions governed behavior. One did not inquire about the validity of accepted ways; skepticism was not popular, and innovation was not an accepted way of life as it is in our own day. Kinship ties were especially strong, and the patriarch of the clan often wielded great power. Divorce,

³ Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 52:293-308, January 1947.

which now runs as high as 50 per cent of marriages in some urban communities, was frowned upon in the folk society of the senior author's home town, where a divorced person was ostracized.

The dominant characteristic of a folk society was its personal nature. Everyone knew each other, his capabilities, his traits, and his shortcomings. Gregariousness prevailed; each greeted the other on meeting; privacy was difficult to come by; and idiosyncrasy was frowned upon. This expected warmth of interaction contrasts to the attitudes described in a *New Yorker* article some years ago about apartment dwellers in New York, where the folkways require that one be restrained in greeting or taking personal notice of one's neighbors.

The folkways versus jobways

Modern bureaucracy requires that one pursue a formalized official mode of behavior which is often in contrast with the folkways, whether they be the instinctive, intuitive, and traditional folkways inherited from the past or the often seemingly bizarre folkways that urban living is encrusting over the primitive that still survive. This apparent conflict is well illustrated by the folklore of formal organization the basic building block of which is the position. Bureaucratic hierarchies are fashioned out of positions, a more vernacular term for which is "job."

The position as the building block of hierarchy

A position consists of the duties, tasks, and operations performed by a single operator. The term "operator" is used for our purposes to emphasize its impersonal nature. To the administrative analyst or the management engineer the microcosm of organization is the task or, as Gilbreth put it, the Therblig,⁴ which is the simplest motion performed physically. But the position is the aggregate of tasks performed by one operator presumably at his full-time job. A job description is the written instrument which gives formal legal status to the position.

From the standpoint of human relations in management, the concept of position as made up of an aggregate of tasks is important because traditional theory and practice have regarded position as separated from person. The organization analyst is enjoined to ignore the personal characteristics of the incumbent when studying a position, and the same is true of the methods analyst relative to work flow.⁵ Competencies and abilities of incumbents superior to the requirements of the tasks at hand are to be disregarded. In other words, traditional organization theory tries to es-

⁴ Albert Lepawsky (ed.), *Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 248.

⁵ See discussion by Baruch, the classical authority, although a rereading on this point reveals that he does not take as rigid a position as might be supposed. Ismar Baruch, *Position-Classification in the Public Service* (Chicago: Civil Service Assembly, 1941), p. 37ff.

establish job requirements first and then require the incumbent to fit himself to these prerequisites. The underlying rationale is that people are replaceable.

In recent years the standards division of the United States Civil Service Commission has attempted a modification of the above-stated orthodoxy with what it calls the "Impact of the Man on the Job." They were motivated by two influences: first the tremendous influx of scientific and professional personnel into federal employment and the desire to reward ability in those fields by some means other than the assignment of supervisory duties. The new standards that they issued in such fields as science and medicine allowed much greater leeway in upgrading individual positions to recognize the plus qualities demonstrated by incumbents. This was not accomplished without considerable opposition, particularly from the classifiers who saw the fabric of their underpinning crumbling.

One of the principal problems is that of adapting human beings governed and motivated by traditional folkways to twentieth-century jobways. The nineteenth century consisted of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century folkways encrusted with such technology as the reciprocating steam engine, a relatively unsophisticated mechanism which could be operated and maintained by unschooled people. The opening decades of the twentieth century brought into widespread use the internal combustion engine which could still be operated and maintained by relatively unskilled persons. In the young manhood of one of the authors, everybody knew how to put a new set of piston rings in a Model T Ford, and a torn-down Model T in the back yard of a dwelling was a familiar sight.

Supersophisticated technology

The mid-twentieth century has marked the advent of a supersophisticated technology consisting of three principal developments: (1) nuclear fission which promises a technological revolution as to sources of energy (if man succeeds in preventing it from destroying him in the meantime); (2) servomechanisms; and (3) the computer. Here we shall concern ourselves with the latter two. A servomechanism is the doodad that gives orders to a machine without the intervention of man, the feedback loop which constitutes the heart of automation. The computer has many uses, among which is the mechanization of office work; but from the standpoint of sophisticated technology perhaps its most important function is the almost instantaneous digestion of large masses of data that furnish the food for servomechanisms, for instance the ground control of a missile or space craft.

A revolution in jobways

These innovations have resulted in a revolution in jobways that can best be characterized as an intellectualization of the production process.

Manual and unskilled jobs have virtually disappeared. People who were brought up in the unsophisticated technology of the farm, plantation, small town (and even the factory) have found their occupations displaced by the new technology. This has brought about a new job mix, by which is meant the proportions of total workers employed in blue-collar, clerical, managerial, and technical positions. The proportion of production workers has declined in relation to those customarily classified as indirect or overhead. Particularly striking has been the increase in executive, professional, and technical positions.⁶ The growth in research and development has placed a premium on brainpower. Innovation has become the catchword of the age, and innovation breeds a new industrial subculture based upon research. A premium has been placed upon creativeness and imagination; and industry—particularly defense industry—has spawned a new elite typified by the physicist and research engineer.

But this elite has in turn been responsible for a profusion of support jobs such as the computer programmer, the prospectus writer, the standards writer, industrial librarians, and computer technicians. Not only has the job mix been changed to the disadvantage of blue-collar occupations, but the level of intellectual content has been upgraded throughout the job hierarchy. The egghead is clearly in the ascendancy; the person of superior school attainment is in demand; and the norms of our folkways are changing rapidly in this respect. Whereas formerly the person of high IQ and intellectual propensity was prone to hide his brilliance to gain social acceptance, the folkways are beginning to accept what psychological research has long demonstrated, that the person with superior intellectual equipment and brainpower is also above average in most other aspects of life.

Innovation in personnel management

For at least a quarter of a century, traditional personnel management has been under fire as being overly oriented toward techniques, unimaginative, and obsessed with the need to control the errant line. Personnel people were on occasion addicted to crying in their cups about their lack of acceptance by top management and their exclusion from policy councils. This is mentioned here to let the reader know that we are well aware that we deal in clichés when criticizing personnel management. Here we merely want to reemphasize what has been said before and to speak out loudly to the effect that in an age of innovation personnel management must become itself innovative. It must become research-oriented; that is its only salvation if it sees itself as the dominant ingredient of general management as has so often been proclaimed in the past.

General management has by and large not been interested in personnel

⁶ Samuel E. Hill and Frederick Harbison, *Manpower and Innovation in American Industry* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959).

problems until they have emerged as trouble spots. In unionized industry this attitude has often been manifested by angry impatience at being required to engage in the bargaining process. But with the change in job mix the unions are beginning to lose membership or at least they are not gaining, whereas a vexing personnel problem continues to be recruitment and retention of scientific, technical, and executive personnel. The original critics of the human relations movement spoke deprecatingly of what they thought to be its overemphasis on happiness in a workaday world where stern Spartanlike Calvinism was thought to be more appropriate. The need for happiness has now returned to dog authoritarian management in the form of a need to supply a satisfying work environment for the new class of industrial eggheads.

DEVELOPMENTAL MANAGEMENT

We have emphasized above that in traditional organization theory the position came before the incumbent. The individual was expected to fit the job specifications, and, barring a brief breaking-in period, he was to be ready to perform the duties of the position at the time of employment or promotion. The training function has always been a step-child who was continually hard put to justify his existence, except in times of emergency such as the two World Wars. This was demonstrated by the fact that in those periods supervisory training programs had to be improvised.⁷

Job skills were rather stable once they were acquired. A boy who learned a manual trade could expect to practice it without substantial change until his retirement. Furthermore there was continuous demand for unskilled or semiskilled labor, so that persons who had left school early were reasonably sure of continued employment. The age of innovation and automation has changed all of this. Instead of living in an age of stability in job content we find ourselves rather suddenly in an era where the latter is constantly changing, with the resultant need of man to adjust himself to such change. The person without intellectual motivation who has left school early no longer finds himself able to go to work in the plant at a starting wage near to that of his father. He has become part of a national social problem as a member of that group known as "drop-outs."⁸ Furthermore, his father may be unemployed because his rudimentary skills which were once marketable are no longer in demand.

⁷ War Manpower Commission, *The Training Within Industry Report 1940-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945). The senior author personally heard Mr. Dooley, one of the principals in this effort, tell of the informal way this very effective program was born out of immediate pressure and need.

⁸ James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 50.

A new intellectual climate

The intellectual content of practically all jobs has been upgraded; the premium today is on brains with a discount on mere brawn. Production at the work bench or the individually-tended machine is being replaced by *management by console*. A console is a cabinet, table, or panel which contains the control devices for mechanized or automated production. These may be dials, signal lights, buttons, levers, or radar screens—the essential control point on a cybernetics feedback loop. The people who operate these consoles need not be intellectual types themselves, but they find themselves in an atmosphere of advanced technology which requires the upgrading of jobs, with consequent need for training and retraining. Contrary to emotional outbursts against the alleged degradation of human dignity by the machine, there is some evidence that automation brings greater job satisfaction.⁹

The mucker pose was until recently a characteristic American culture trait. This attitude placed high value on the robust masculine traits such as athletic prowess and physical strength. The national heroes have been athletes, cowboys, soldiers, and frontiersmen; although it must be said in passing that such leading figures among the founding fathers as Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison could be classified as intellectuals in any age. Perhaps there are great turning points in history which call forth the latent intellectual potentials of men. Certainly there has been no subsequent period in American history that has produced such a noteworthy crop of egg-heads with leadership status. The mucker pose dominated our habits of thought and behavior until the mid-twentieth century. Roughly it causes potentially talented people to cover up such propensities because their contemporaries regard them as undesirable. The pursuit of intellectual activities for their own sake, the appreciation of art and music, reading as a pastime are looked upon as marks of deviation from the desirable norm. Indeed, there is something ironical about the charge by social critics that ours is an age of conformists. It could be effectively countered that ours is the age of liberation of the intellect, a symbol of which is the Nobel laureate who recently picketed the White House in protest against nuclear testing on the same day that he later attended a Presidential reception as a guest.

Implications for management

The personnel side of management can no longer be handled solely on a marketing basis, that is, by going into the employment market and buying ready-made job incumbents. Management must become increasingly

⁹ Floyd C. Mann and L. Richard Hoffman, *Automation and the Worker* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960).

developmental in nature. There are two reasons for this: first, there is a shortage of people skilled in the increasingly complex requirements of today's jobs; and second, the omnipresent spectre of research and development with its emphasis on innovation calls for constant retraining. Skills appropriate for today are obsolete tomorrow.

But management cannot stop at training for job skills; it must direct increasing attention toward human relations, because, as stated above, there are human obstacles in the way of adapting nineteenth-century folkways to mid-twentieth-century jobways. Attention will have to be directed toward adjusting job requirements and human competencies to each other. Without abandoning the traditional basic concept that job requirements are paramount in a goal-centered organization, it will become increasingly necessary to see that jobs are engineered to suit human factors, on the one hand, and that human potentials are maximized on the other. This will require attention to the following areas:

1. social science research
2. superior-subordinate relationships
3. training
4. the clinical-coaching-evaluation syndrome
5. the impact of system on human relations

Social science research

Management has traditionally been a pragmatic pursuit, dominantly empirical, using that term in the one of its two opposed meanings that connotes antiscientific. In professional circles it is more often applied to a method of investigation emphasizing a systematic gathering of data—a synonym for objectivity. Management people have been action and goal oriented. They have valued an intuitive feel for what seems to work over the slower ways of scientific investigation. Traditional ways of doing things have been valued over untried experiment. The typical management person of the past has been uncomfortable in intellectual company. In our competitive market society he has had to be sales and balance-sheet centered, which results in his being a social and economic conservative in his value system. Public managers tend to reflect this same value system as their brethren in private enterprise. Indeed, the possession of conservative social values seems to be a rather universal bureaucratic trait.

It has only been recently that industrial management has adjusted its mental outlook to the realistic presence of constant innovation. This has not been due to any suddenly acquired love of innovation for its own sake, but rather the age-old pressures of the market. Strangely enough these pressures are strikingly evident in defense industry, where there is only one customer. The cold war has caused the military to become supersensitive to the need for innovation, a strange contrast to the opening days of

World War II when the horse cavalry was not yet convinced of the need for tanks. It also recalls the trial of General Billy Mitchell, who had the audacity to foresee the use of airpower in war.

Today we have a defense industry with individual plants bidding against each other not on the basis of prices but of ideas, and a governmental customer motivated by the need to be ahead of the enemy in ideas. The idea men among the engineers and the prospectus writers have become the pets of defense industry. This same emphasis on innovation has influenced the private economy, but there management has had to go somewhat slower owing to the greater difficulty of writing off the capital investments in obsolete plant and equipment. Nevertheless, industrial management has had to adjust itself to living with the physicist, the chemist, and the research engineer. Indeed, these people have often become an integral part of top management itself.

Social science in management

Pragmatic management has long utilized social science methodology in marketing research, although in the beginning it had to fight for a foothold. The story of customer research at General Motors goes back to a chap by the name of Weaver who originally encountered resistance to his ideas about consulting customers as to what kind of automobile they wanted. An early example of overcoming this resistance is illustrated by the question of "free wheeling." This device had been widely adopted by American auto manufacturers, but was not used on any of the General Motors cars. Since its effects were quite controversial, Weaver suggested consulting car owners to see how they felt about it. This was done, and the reactions were so strongly unfavorable toward the device that it was not adopted by any of the General Motors cars. Before long, it was dropped by the entire industry.¹⁰ Today, customer research is a standard operating procedure for most successful business enterprises.

Management will always have to be convinced about the ultimate utility of research. Research and development in the product and marketing fields have become standard operating procedure because of competitive marketing pressures. It is suggested that social science research will also become standard operating practice because of the pressures of the employment market. There will be a continuing shortage of the highly specialized job classes demanded by the new technology. The competitive employment pressures will relate not only to pay but also the working environment. It will become increasingly necessary to understand not only more than we now know about people but also about how people adjust

¹⁰ This account was suggested as a revision of the account given in the previous edition. It was contained in a letter to John M. Pfiffner from Mardsen Thompson, Director, Customer Research Staff, General Motors Corporation, dated April 22, 1963.

to a rapidly changing production technology. In a mode of life based on innovation, it will be essential to know more about the processes of adjusting to change.¹¹

This will require a team approach much like that now employed in the most advanced mental hospitals where psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, nurse, and other therapists collaborate. The psychologist now enjoys a foothold in the workaday realm, but he is more often a tinkerer than an innovator. In other words, he applies what is now known rather than expanding the frontiers of knowledge. In the new developmental personnel administration, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, and anthropologists will work together in action research teams. It is perhaps too much to expect that production organizations, either industrial or governmental, will devote much of their resources to basic research. On the other hand, the defense agencies have gone in for basic research both by financing university research and by setting up autonomous units like the Rand Corporation. There is perhaps no vocation which has been traditionally more conservative and distrustful of the intellectual than the military as witnessed by the treatment accorded Admirals Mahan and Rickover, and General Billy Mitchell. War as waged today is a struggle of ideas, and the military has set up the machinery and environment to stimulate ideas.

Superior-subordinate relationships

Social science research in organization has been dominantly concerned with small group theory and particularly what could be learned about leadership in studying the unstructured social group. This work was carried on by social psychologists and sociologists who approached the task with a value system which tended to be antiauthoritarian and hence anti-management. Much was made of the distinction between formal and informal organization and there was an inference that the former was somehow worthy of distrust and just not kosher. Permissive leadership and authority from the bottom up were looked upon with favor. Power as an important influence upon decisions has only recently received attention.

The above was not intended to criticize but only as an introduction to what follows immediately. The emphasis on permissive leadership in small groups has led to a myopic neglect of what is perhaps the most important relationship in organizations, namely, the vertical one between a man and his boss. Failure to secure acceptance of social science findings has in practically all cases been due to the authoritarian attitudes and behavior of persons in positions of headship in the hierarchical pyramid. This authoritarian nature of managers is a matter of such widespread observation that it must be recognized as a social science datum and attacked as such.

¹¹ John J. Corson, "Innovation Challenges Conformity," *Harvard Business Review*, 40:67-74, May-June 1962.

It may be that continued research will show it to be an essential concomitant of effective organizations; or it may be that organization theory will develop a reality-centered leadership¹² in which authoritarian motivation will be a component. What is necessary now is a research-centered approach to try to understand it and to assess its effects whether good or bad.

The next two points discussed below—training and coaching—can be successfully practiced only if a wholesome superior-subordinate relationship exists.

Training

The new developmental management will have a large role for training, but it will be an altered role. Such training in the human relations field as was carried on in the past was, paradoxically, both stereotyped and unstructured. It was stereotyped in that it made a fetish out of the non-directive conference method and unstructured in the sense that permissive nondirective group discussion was relied upon to bring meaningful learning out of individual experiences of the members. While the trainer was not absolutely barred from having knowledge of subject matter, he was nevertheless advised not to lecture or proclaim. His function was that of stimulator, arbiter, switchman, and summarizer.

We have no fundamental quarrel with this because the nondirective conference has a fundamental validity and will always constitute a principal tool in the trainer's inventory of teaching devices. Our principal criticism is that it was long regarded as the ultimate in foreman training in an anti-intellectual era when foremen were dragooned into going to school when they didn't want to. Training was resisted and hence had to be "sold," so the "voc. ed." people developed this device to gain at least a minimum of acceptance. Emphasis was placed upon creating interest and foremen were flattered into acceptance on two grounds: (1) the assumption that their own anecdotal experiences were the proper bases for course content; and (2) that the extent of their own titillation constituted the principal standard for evaluation.

The human relations training of the future will be much more sophisticated, as will be the trainers themselves. While training will still have to be palatable, it will have as its clientele a much more sophisticated generation of supervisors. The increasing intellectual content of job technology at all levels will bring a nucleus of people with intellectual curiosity who will ask probing questions. This will stimulate the trainers to become familiar with the pertinent literature in the behavioral sciences and to consult the research journals. It is interesting to note in this connection

¹² A concept postulated by Argyris but not very specifically defined. Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 207.

how much more mature the practitioners' journals have become recently. Much more emphasis than formerly is being placed on the professional query of "why?" than the pragmatists' "how?"

Ways and means will be found to make the coaching concept work. For the last decade or so a great deal of lip service has been given to the proposition that the best training is that given by the employee's boss. In large-scale industry this has often been labeled "executive development" and given official recognition under a director, sometimes tied in with organization planning. The obstacles and difficulties encountered by these efforts will be discussed below, but it is believed that through research, and through trial and error, ways will be found to make the coaching approach to development operational. This is discussed in the following paragraphs under the somewhat ambitious title of the Coaching-Clinical-Evaluation Syndrome.

The clinical-coaching-evaluation syndrome

The first two editions of this work dwelt at some length with the clinical approach to supervision. It was postulated that the supervisor was too prone to run away from unpleasant and difficult personnel problems with the hope that somehow they would solve themselves. Some means should be found to induce him to face up to these situations and deal with them boldly and constructively. At that time the Rogerian nondirective approach to counseling had attracted considerable vogue, as had also the permissive type of interviewing that followed the therapeutic efforts of social work and clinical psychology. It was suggested that the supervisor should follow a similar pattern in dealing with his subordinates. It was not intended that the supervisor should become an amateur therapist, but that rather he could utilize a nondirective approach in dealing with employees. There were those who sensed genuine danger, particularly in those cases where an untrained person might attempt to become a therapist.

The coaching approach to development now advocated in many circles calls for a superior-subordinate relationship which is essentially clinical in method. The boss asks the subordinate to tell him what he understands to be the content of his job and to give the boss an evaluation of how well he thinks he is doing, where he needs improvement, and what he intends to do about it. The boss asks what he can do to help. Originally it was contemplated that the boss would first tell the subordinate what he was to do, but it was too often found that in executive positions the boss did not know in sufficient detail. The result was that these sessions became a learning vehicle for the boss himself.

In some companies this is tied in with the formal periodical evaluation which is facilitated by conferences with trained interviewers from the personnel department.

Mental illness is receiving increasing attention as a social problem. Management has taken cognizance of such troublesome behavior as alcoholism and chronic absenteeism, but there is growing acceptance of the hypothesis that work environment can in itself create mental illness.¹³ While some industrial giants such as Eastman Kodak and Caterpillar Tractor have given attention to this problem, it seems reasonable to assume that management will have this hypothesis increasingly called to its attention. This is evidenced by a new professional discipline, organization psychiatry, practiced by such men as Leighton and Stainbrook. The reviving interest in system as a causative factor in human relations is also testimony toward this trend.

O & M as an HR factor

The interaction of the technical phases of organization and methods with the human factors has often been neglected or ignored, particularly by the social scientists, perhaps because of their antimanagement and antimanipulation bias. The most prominent sociologist to support this view was William Foote Whyte, who called it to our attention in his study of the restaurant industry, where he postulated what amounts to the cue theory to relieve tension between the waitresses and counter men and bar tenders. He noticed that the latter were playing favorites. While he does not claim credit for invention of the spindle so evident in restaurants today, he does recommend its use in regulating the precedence of orders.¹⁴ A "systems" psychologist has recently created a clever parable in which the psychologist, the anthropologist, and the sociologist, while diagnosing the ills of organization from different points of reference, all come to the conclusion that the solution to human problems can be found in the spindle.¹⁵

CONCLUSION

The main theme of the foregoing discussion is that the new and mature study of human relations in management will be based firmly on the proposition that the folkways influence the jobways, and that human relations cannot be studied in a vacuum from which the jobways are excluded. Great change is now taking place in both the jobways and the folkways. The new jobways constitute a very complex technology based in turn on science. The jobways are increasingly carried on in the environment of

¹³ F. L. W. Richardson, *Talk, Work, and Action* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1961).

¹⁴ William Foote Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1948), pp. 74-77.

¹⁵ Elias H. Porter, "The Parable of the Spindle," *Harvard Business Review* 40:58-66, May-June 1962.

large-scale organization, in other words *bureaucracy*. Bureaucracy is a cold, formalistic, impersonal way of life in contrast to the warm, personal, and intimate folkways of the past. Furthermore, the new jobways, based upon science as they are, embody an increasing degree of intellectual content. The folkways of the past have been skeptical of science, even recently, as evidenced by the fact that the Scopes trial took place as late as the 1920's. The upgrading of the folkways to suit the modern jobways will require new efforts in social science, both as to research and application. Hence, human relations in management will from now on be research-centered.

The supervisor and human nature

Despite its diversity and complexity, most everybody feels he knows a lot about human nature. There is, however, little uniformity of opinion among those who purport to possess such knowledge. "There have always been optimists who held that people are naturally good and reasonable, and pessimists who regarded them as weak, foolish and deceitful."¹

Chapter 4

Human nature is diverse and complex. Mankind has evolved, and if it survives, will continue to evolve through both biological and cultural evolution. "Man's biological evolution changes his nature; cultural evolution changes his nurture."² A person is what he is because of his nature and his nurture, or in more popular terms, his heredity and environment.

Experts disagree about the relative influence of the two on human nature, in part because of the variety of approaches used in studying human nature. The psychologist, the anthropologist, the sociologist, and the biologist have all contributed to our understanding, but perhaps also to our confusion in that they stress the importance of heredity and environment variously. Nonsocial scientists tend also to give more weight to one or the other. A banker or manufacturer probably favors heredity as a factor governing behavior more than would a socialist or politician to the left. During the Stalin regime in Russia, the official Soviet line favored the views of Lysenko, an alleged scientist who maintained that hereditary factors can be altered by changing the environment. It suited the communist viewpoint to maintain that the state could improve human nature by perfecting the environment.

¹ Theodosius Dobzhansky, *Mankind Evolving* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 23.

² *Ibid.*

Both are important

The surest knowledge we have is that both nature and nurture, or heredity and environment, are important. We know too, as Dobzhansky reports, "that most human natures are inherently neither good nor bad, but become so in different circumstances."³

SCIENCE CAN HELP THE SUPERVISOR

Inasmuch as the supervisor's principal task is concerned with the behavior of people, it would seem desirable to weigh the evidence that science offers on the principal questions of human nature. In some cases where science has no clear-cut answer, controversy still rages. What are the problems that concern both the scientists and philosophers? And how do they relate to the manner in which Joe Smith, foreman, supervises Tom Jones, Tony Geselli, Pedro Lopez, Pamela Winthrop, or Hyman Goldberg?

Why does Tom take criticism in good grace, whereas some others become sullen? Why is Tony absent so often, yet such a good worker that absenteeism can be tolerated? Why is Pedro satisfied to work only a part of each year? What makes Miss Winthrop a rumor-monger with a sensitive and jealous disposition? Are people of low birth or underprivileged origin inherently as capable as those with a more favored beginning? Are persons with dark skins different in basic competence from those with light complexion? Are workers with Mediterranean forebears fundamentally different from Scandinavians in talent and motivation? Are certain individuals sullen, lazy, and resistant to supervision because they are "possessed of evil spirits," or is there an explanation for such behavior? Not all of these questions can be answered with a straightforward *yes* or *no*, but science does shed upon them sufficient light to help the supervisor.

One piece of advice that emerges for the supervisor is that he should refrain from hasty judgments about people because they are Poles, Jews, Negroes, old Americans, Anglo-Saxons, or Mexicans. He should not excuse his own reluctance to face up squarely to a bad personnel situation on the basis that the errant worker's behavior cannot be changed because it springs from "bad blood." He should understand that there are fundamental differences between people on an infinite variety of traits and characteristics, such as mechanical and clerical aptitude, work pace, and toleration of adverse conditions. He should also know that there are certain respects in which people are similar the world over, the most important from the standpoint of supervision probably being man's gregarious or social nature.

³ *Ibid.*

Descended from some sort of animal

Although the history of man prior to the invention of writing, some 5000 years ago, is very dim, scientists have quite definitely established that human bones found in various parts of the world go back a million years.⁴ Because the so-called "missing-link" has not been definitely established, some still argue over the probability that man is related to existing apes. Linton⁵ calls this a popular misunderstanding and definitely states that anthropoid apes, now extant, are not our ancestors. "From everything we now know, it seems our remote ancestors were monkeys. Those who are annoyed by this may take comfort from the fact that at least the founders of our family line were educated in the higher branches."⁶

But man differs

He is the only animal with the power of conceptualization, an advantage and also a disadvantage, because it is probably responsible for the fact that he is the only animal that worries. His gregarious and social tendencies are much more highly developed than those of the lower primates.⁷ In addition, man has something that science has found very difficult to isolate and describe. He has what the psychologists call a *psyche*, and what theologians call a soul. Philosophers might refer to it as the "divine spark." Modern advocates of democracy are probably talking about the same thing when they speak of "the dignity of man." In other words, the human animal is a peculiar mixture of basic and sometimes sordid animal drives on the one hand, and of lofty cultural aspirations on the other. The supervisor of the less favored people should keep in mind that human dignity and sensitive appreciation of higher goals are not lacking among them. Indeed, their sacrifices to better the status of their children are sometimes inspiring.

GENETIC BASIS

Gene theory

The science of heredity is called *genetics*, and the beliefs generally held by geneticists spring from the rediscovery of Mendel's laws in 1900. Experimenting with common varieties of peas,⁸ which had clear cut dif-

⁴ Amram Scheinfeld, *The New You and Heredity* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950), p. 490.

⁵ Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ Julian Huxley, *Man in the Modern World* (New York: Mentor Books, 1948), pp. 20-25.

⁸ C. E. Kenneth Mees, *The Path of Science* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1948), pp. 159-60.

ferences in color, shape, and size, Mendel crossed varieties and carefully recorded the various characters in the hybrid progenies. He found that succeeding generations reproduced dominant characteristics in certain exact and predictable ratios. Subsequent experimentation has shown that these ratios apply to the inbreeding of both plants and animals. However, though a child gets half of his genes from his mother and half from his father, "it is actually a matter of chance alone which genes a child will inherit from his parents. It is even more of a gamble which, if any, genes he will inherit from ancestors several generations back."⁹

Individuality

People are different from each other, and even biology recognizes the absolute individuality of every person. As Dobzhansky points out, "The mechanism of the Mendelian recombination of genes . . . confers upon a living species a capacity to produce a prodigious abundance of ever-new genetic endowments."¹⁰ This does not, as some have concluded, lead to a conclusion that intelligence is transported in a sex cell, even though people are not all alike in intelligence.

PEOPLE ARE DIFFERENT—AND ALIKE

People are different

People differ from each other in two singular respects. There are differences between groups of people such as nationalities, races, or social classes. On the other hand, individuals of the same social group may differ markedly from each other. Those who engage in the scientific study of man, whether they be anthropologists, biologists, or sociologists, arrive almost unanimously at a concept of race which differs from that held by fascists and race purists. This concept states in effect that there are few if any genetic differences among the so-called "races." We have used the quotation marks because of doubts that there can be any scientific segregation of people into races, some even going so far as to advocate discontinuing the use of the term.¹¹ It is admitted that there may be cultural differences among ethnic stocks. If this meaning is understood it may be correct to use the word "race." However, it would seem more accurate, and perhaps more tactful, to use the expression "ethnic group."

The following statement by the eminent anthropologist Franz Boas summarizes aptly the scientific viewpoint:

I believe the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that, while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more in-

⁹ Dobzhansky, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹¹ Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

telligent, endowed with greater will power, or emotionally more stable than another, that the difference would materially influence its culture. Nor is there any good reason to believe that the differences between races are so great that the descendants of mixed marriages would be inferior to their parents. Biologically there is no good reason to object to fairly close inbreeding in healthy groups, nor to intermingling of the principal races.¹²

The richness of human nature, taken in its totality, is due largely to the very diversity of our talents, aptitudes, skills, and attainments. Both immediate organization pressures and the culture of the larger community force the individual toward conformity and uniformity. We must each strive to make our behavior and appearance meet the standards of the group in which we live. The result is that those who evaluate other people are influenced, often unconsciously, by whether or not they conform to these group standards. But the civilized and educated person is tolerant of the Sikh who wears turban and beard in an American setting or of the person whose religion will not allow him to work on Saturday.

But people are also alike

Basically, human beings are much more alike than they are different. When a group of people inhabits a specified area for many generations, they tend to adapt to their environment in many ways—physically, mentally, and emotionally. They develop customs and habits. But these adaptations are relatively slight. In all important ways, they continue to resemble men in other parts of the world. It is essential that the supervisor be aware of this fundamental similarity between people, before he can grasp the ways in which they differ.

How are people different from each other?

Tyler¹³ points out that there are two contrary views concerning human differences. On the one hand is the premise that all men are created equal and that education can overcome all handicaps and inequalities. This view admits no limitations and creates intolerance of the person who does not seem to live up to his potentialities and opportunities. Contrasted with this is the belief that differences are unalterable facts and that society should use these varied gifts to enrich the "common life." This belief rationalizes the existence of a privileged class and soothes the conscience when contemplating an oppressed or underprivileged group of people.

The moderate view holds that no two individuals are identical, and each person should be considered as a unique unit. Everyone has his own special pattern of aptitudes and interests, his own limitations, and his own

¹² Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), pp. 13-14.

¹³ Leona E. Tyler, *The Psychology of Human Differences*, rev. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956).

quality of intelligence. Research has proved that all living creatures differ from others of the same species. Even one-celled creatures have been found to have individual patterns of behavior. If this be true of simple organisms, how much more pronounced must be the individuality of human beings! The supervisor must learn to understand and accept these differences, and then use them constructively.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

To answer these and related questions, social scientists have developed many techniques for approaching the study of human behavior. These studies range from quantitative treatment of bureaucracy to rather detailed measurement of multilimb coordination.

Applicable findings

Whether or not any particular research finding, or group of research findings, have applicability lies in "the eye of the beholder." The student of organization can find much in the appropriate journals which will add to his understanding, as will the student of small group theory. One of the problems of organizational improvement is that the practitioner is often not interested in theoretical considerations, while the academic theoretician is not interested in struggling with the day to day work problems which should become part and parcel of his theory. It might be noted however that, with increasing frequency, the coordination of the two points of view is being incorporated into research design.

Supervision

Evaluating the ingredients of effective supervision is an area to which a great deal of research has been directed. In many instances the conclusions reached have fairly direct applicability for the individual supervisor, and these he should be encouraged to review. Such review should become a part of his development plan. Illustrative of this kind of finding, which is in conformance with many similar findings, is a study by Kirchner and Reisberg.¹⁴ This research attempts to draw some conclusions about differences in the manner in which better and less-effective supervisors differ in the job of appraising their subordinates. The authors, as a result of their investigation, concluded that: (1) better supervisors are more discriminating in rating their subordinates, while less-effective supervisors are more lenient in their ratings; and (2) better supervisors tend more to regard independent, forward looking action on the part of their

¹⁴ Wayne E. Kirchner and Donald J. Reisberg, "Differences Between Better and Less-Effective Supervisors in Appraisal of Subordinates," *Personnel Psychology*, 15:295-302, Autumn 1962.

subordinates as important, while less-effective supervisors tend to regard action that doesn't "rock the boat" as important.

Style of management

A selected example of an applicable research finding related to styles of management comes from a study by Esser and Strother.¹⁵ Their study was designed to measure relative rule-oriented responses as related to degree of bureaucratization. Conclusions reached by the authors were that results of the study, in general, implied a rejection of the popular model of bureaucracy—that which suggests a changing model from the small profit-oriented business to the large governmental unit.

Training

In training there is increasing interest in putting selection, content, procedures, and results to scientific test.¹⁶ Illustrative of the kind of research being done is a study by Gruenfeld¹⁷ in which he attempts to determine the aptitudes required of executives who are to be trained through "higher education." His conclusions generally indicate that required aptitudes for success in liberal arts education, for executives, are primarily of an intellectual nature. "Specifically, word meaning, reading, and mathematical ability made up the content of those predictors which correlated significantly with the faculty criterion ratings."¹⁸

It might be noted that the type of executive training Gruenfeld investigated is only a limited part of executive development. Though any given organization is concerned with the intellectual ability of its supervisors and managers, it is much more deeply concerned with the integration of knowledge gained into the exhibited behavior of the individuals in question. Personnel development must not become an exercise for gaining information alone.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT

The lessons to be learned toward better personnel management, from the kinds of more specific research illustrated and from broader social science research efforts, are many. Research findings suggest that not only

¹⁵ Norbert J. Esser and George B. Strother, "Rule Interpretation as an Indicator of Style of Management," *Personnel Psychology*, 15:295-302, Winter 1962.

¹⁶ For an interesting review of recent studies in training and education, see Robert Glaser, ed., *Training Research and Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962).

¹⁷ Leopold W. Gruenfeld, "Selection of Executives for a Training Program," *Personnel Psychology*, 14:421-431, Winter 1961.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

should greater care be exercised in the original selection of employees, but also in their placement as a result of subsequent study and observation on the job. That is why the supervisor of the future will spend more time in cooperating with the personnel office in an effort to fit people into the organization. Those who do the fitting will pay attention not only to vocational skills, but also to the psychological and social variations among people.

Mental health

"Mental health is a condition and level of social functioning which is socially acceptable and personally satisfying."¹⁹ People vary greatly along these dimensions, and probably no one is entirely "normal" all of the time, but there is nevertheless a considerable percentage of humans who seem perpetually maladjusted. Some psychiatrists have estimated that one out of five workers is a problem case. Science does not as yet have a complete explanation of the causes of these mental and emotional difficulties that plague so many of us, but progress is being made. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and vocational counselors are able, in a large number of cases, to help troubled persons to adjust themselves to a normal life of work and play.

The line supervisor's job

Line supervisors are rarely expert mental hygienists, but this fact does not bar them from playing a very important part in helping workers to develop healthy mental, emotional, and social adjustments. They can do this in three ways, all of which should receive greater attention in supervisory training programs than has been accorded them in the past. First, the supervisor can be trained to recognize and detect symptoms of mental and emotional maladjustment. Second, he can be trained to conduct the initial interview with troubled workers; in most instances he can dispose of the matter, referring aggravated cases to the staff specialists in the personnel department. Third, he can be trained to create a social atmosphere or climate that will tend to make people relatively well adjusted in their work, create team spirit, and minimize obsessive preoccupation with personal troubles. These concepts will be enlarged upon in later chapters.

Human behavior is only partly rational

Although man is distinguished from other animals by virtue of the fact that he thinks and reasons,²⁰ he is only partly a rational animal. A tre-

¹⁹ Werner W. Boehm, "The Role of Psychiatric Social Work in Mental Health," Arnold M. Rose, ed., *Mental Health and Mental Disorder* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1955), p. 537.

²⁰ Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

mendous proportion of human behavior is irrational in nature. Some persons seem to have a greater innate need for a factual or scientific explanation of things in general, while others tend to seek a supernatural explanation. That is why there sometimes seems to be a conflict between science and religion.

The supervisor should try to understand the causes for irrational behavior that interfere with management objectives. Some of this behavior can probably be partly altered by training, while some is resistant to change. For instance, hospital attendants are often averse to handling the dead and will resort to every artifice and ruse to shift this responsibility to someone else. On the other hand, there are a few persons, perhaps relatively small in percentage of the population, who seem attracted by the handling of the dead. Another example of irrational behavior was discovered in a large hospital where both low-status laundry workers and trained nurses retained an unwarranted fear of bacteria in linens that had been thoroughly sterilized.²¹

It is highly important for the supervisor to remember that behavior is usually not the result of a careful weighing of the facts and the choice of alternatives. Perhaps the preponderance of our behavior is the result of unconscious motivation. That is why the good supervisor is one who seems to have a high capacity for sensing when and how workers may react on a nonrational basis. It also explains why persons with high intellectual development sometimes become emotional and petulant about the failure of the masses to behave in a particular manner. The intellectual expects human beings to behave rationally, whereas human nature is only partially rational.

One of the difficulties in discussing rational and irrational behavior is that what seems perfectly rational to some will seem highly irrational to others. Thus, management logic has traditionally thought that workers being paid piece rates should put forth their utmost effort, each striving to secure the highest possible paycheck. But it is well known that workers have a logic of their own about this and that they will regard it as to their interests to establish a rate of production that will be rather uniform for all.

One should hesitate before saying that workers are irrational in this matter, because examination will reveal factual considerations which, at least partially, support their viewpoint. That these considerations are social in nature will be illustrated by an examination into the reasons for the success of incentive pay in some plants and its failure in others. Accepting the factor that some industries are better adapted physically to incentive pay, the next important consideration is management's recogni-

²¹ Cornelius C. Webster, "The Institutional Community as a Factor in Administrative Management of a Public Agency" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 86-7.

tion that a factory or office is a social unit.²² Management and supervision will be able to understand the causes for a great deal of what seems to be the irrational behavior of workers if they recognize the part social factors play in making people behave as they do.

While all humans are social beings and gregarious in nature, individuals nevertheless vary considerably in their capacity to mingle socially with others. The informal working teams so often overlooked by supervision contain some members who are highly sociable and others who are much less so.²³ The informal or indigenous leaders who almost invariably spring up in these unofficial working teams seem to know intuitively the degree of sociability of the members. If given a chance by supervision, the team will adjust itself to these variations among people. Those who want to be near others and who easily adapt themselves to working with others should be permitted to work in groups. Those who tend to be less communicative and more individualistic should be permitted isolation and privacy to the extent that it does not interfere with the purposes of the team.

WHY ARE PEOPLE DIFFERENT FROM EACH OTHER?

There has been a long-standing controversy about the explanation for the differences in people. Those who emphasize the role of heredity will say, "What do you expect? Look at his parentage!" Those who would discount heredity and attribute differences to the influences of environment exclaim, "Well, of course it was the way he was brought up!"

As Guilford suggests, "The problem of heredity versus environment is always with us."²⁴ He feels that a satisfactory solution of the question will have to wait until we have adequate descriptive concepts for personality. However, he suggests that the most satisfactory view is that the heredity sets limits on development but that environment can have effect within those limits. "The debate is then concerned with the distance between those limits, the variation in distance from trait to trait, and the extent which environmental pressures push the individual toward either limit."²⁵

The effect which an environmental factor has upon a person will be influenced by heredity factors, and vice versa. The interaction of the two are so complex and subtle that it is virtually impossible that a particular trait or behavioral pattern can be traced to one or the other. The effect of the genes interacting with environment produces many thousands

²² Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), pp. 363-72.

²³ Moreno calls them *Stars* and *Isolates*. J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934), pp. 24-25.

²⁴ J. P. Guilford, *Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1959), p. 30.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

of separate and unique aspects of physical structure and psychological makeup.²⁶

The case of twins

Thus, no two people can ever be precisely identical. Identical twins are the only ones who begin life with the same heredity, but even they cannot have exactly similar environments. In John's environment is his identical twin, Joe, and vice-versa. Incidents which may be trivial in themselves occur to John but not to Joe. Other events take place around Joe. The accumulation of these varying influences may create radically differing personalities as they mature.

Biological factors

Another question that has been often asked concerns the extent of constitutional, particularly biochemical, factors' influence upon human variability. Do body build or other physical attributes have a close relationship with personality characteristics? The answer to such questions has not been decided with finality, but present evidence does not seem to point to the existence of constitutional factors which underlie and influence both behavior and physique. This problem is complicated by the fact that people have created social stereotypes to which they expect persons with certain physical characteristics to conform.²⁷

The rotund, apple-cheeked man may be a jolly joker not because of some constitutional factor, but because throughout his life people have expected him to be good-humored and amusing and encouraged his every tendency in that direction. The slight, round-shouldered youth with the horn-rimmed glasses may spend his evenings absorbed in his studies because he has been told hundreds of times, "Obviously, you were born to be a scholar." The muscular girl who is devoted to sports, the pale, quiet woman who "looks like an old maid" when she is still in her early twenties, the handsome man who leaves a string of broken hearts behind him and never adjusts to monogamy—these and many others may be simply fulfilling the duties of the roles ascribed to them early in life.

In summary, then, we may say that a person begins life with certain tendencies and with ceilings on his development in any direction. Society, his family, his ethnic group, then operate on him constantly, exaggerating some of his tendencies and leaving others to lie dormant permanently. He may reach the ceiling on developing one of his abilities, while another is never exercised at all. His character, personality, needs, and drives are shaped by the play of environmental factors upon his hereditary factors.

²⁶ Anne Anastasi and John P. Foley, Jr., *Differential Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 112-17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

WHAT CAN ONE DO ABOUT IT?

In the final analysis, it is not important whether the trait under consideration should be labeled as primarily environmental or primarily hereditary. Wide discrepancies in human abilities are facts which must be faced. Some people are bright and some stupid, some high in mechanical aptitude while low on verbal or literary factors. Even the most extreme environmentalist would not maintain that management could do much to alter individual achievement and performance for many of these people.²⁸

Supervisor must accept people as they are

A personality that has been formed by countless influences over a period of several decades cannot be remoulded by even the most skilled supervisor. It is unrealistic to cling to an imagined picture of the ideal worker and to toil over subordinates in an effort to transform them into reasonable facsimiles. Until the supervisor evolves an acceptant attitude, he is doomed to frustration. Irritating personnel situations arising from undesirable characteristics should often be approached as placement problems. The supervisor takes the wrong approach if he becomes critical of persons for behavior over which they may have relatively little control.

Some people can sense at least twice as well, move twice as fast, and lift twice as much as others. In typical business and industrial jobs, these individual differences may be exaggerated or diminished, but they do not disappear except where there is deliberate control keeping productivity at a level low enough to accommodate the slowest worker. Even in jobs where the poorest performers have been weeded out by quits and discharges, and where the better performers have left for better jobs, there remains a substantial difference in performance. . . . More important than differences among individuals in potential and actual performance are the differences that are found within the individual. The human being as a productive unit is not superior in all respects nor inferior in all respects. . . . Clark Hull investigated individual differences in a variety of traits and found that the "trait variation" within individuals is almost as great as the variation among individuals.²⁹

But people do change

Acceptance of people does not rule out aiding them to adapt themselves to the work situation, while at the same time adapting the work situation to people. Many characteristics, attitudes, work habits, and mannerisms are superficial enough to be vulnerable to change. A living person

²⁸ Leona E. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁹ Rensis Likert and Stanley E. Seashore, "Increasing Utilization Through Better Management of Human Resources," *Manpower in the United States: Problems and Policies*, William Haber, et al., eds. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1954), pp. 24-25.

is constantly changing; he will not be tomorrow exactly the same as he is today. Through his on-the-job contacts the supervisor can assist his subordinates in a desirable direction. Later chapters will discuss this more fully.

Personnel administration of the future will be increasingly concerned with promoting a harmonious relationship between the worker and his working environment. Workers will not be regarded as commodities but as sensitive human beings, rather stolid and sturdy, but also quite malleable. In short, the supervisor of the future will succeed or fail to the degree that he is successful in handling the "human problem."

CULTURE

The term "culture" as used by anthropologists and sociologists refers to man-made environment, the influences that the individual unconsciously absorbs and that govern his behavior.³⁰ Culture in this broad sense consists of knowledge, belief, tradition, custom, art, and law. It is the conventionalized behavior of society to which all conform.³¹ Culture consists not only of action and behavior, but also of objects and things that express and maintain conventional understandings, such as dress, utensils, houses, means of transportation, weapons, and churches.

Artifacts of management culture

Examples of the physical manifestations of culture in the management field are paper forms, machines, drafting tables, executives' desks, buzzers, filing cabinets, and telephone equipped automobiles. Culture has a tremendous influence on our lives, though it seldom enters our conscious thoughts. Our resistance to change accounts for much of the stability of social institutions, facilities, and manners; yet culture does change.

Human behavior is influenced by culture

While culture is common to all mankind, it varies in its manifestations. In some societies women perform the necessary agricultural functions. Ruth Benedict has shown that the Indians of British Columbia are acquisitive and competitive, much like ourselves, while the Zunis of New Mexico tend to suppress competitive and aggressive behavior.³² A child is more likely to be encouraged to become an opera singer if he is born

³⁰ Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1949), p. 17.

³¹ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 132.

³² Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1946), pp. 52-119, 160-205.

in Italy than if he comes from a farm in midwestern America. England accords higher social status to governmental administrators than to industrial managers, whereas our culture reverses that situation. In certain sections around the eastern Mediterranean, the customer is supposed to go through a haggling ritual before consummating a purchase. Some cultures sanction polygamy; ours places a strong tabu thereon. Because the manifestations of human nature are so greatly influenced by culture, the realization that cultures vary greatly should make one hesitate in uttering dicta about human nature.

Culture concept is related to study of management

What bearing does the concept of culture have on the study of management? *First*, the study of any aspect of human behavior without attempting to understand the culture in which it operates is tantamount to observing something that does not exist. *Second*, culture has a profound influence on motivation and work habits, as evidenced by the fact that financial incentives operate more effectively on the middle and upper income brackets than they do on those accustomed to a subsistence standard of living.³³ The culture of the latter group has conditioned its members to be satisfied with fewer things; the pain of work is more to be avoided than lack of money. *Third*, culture sets work habits and may be responsible for both good and bad performance. Thus the London police for many years recruited country boys because they had no urban alliances and possessed a certain naiveté combined with lack of sophistication which permitted more satisfactory indoctrination. Certain employers have favored persons with rural origins because they resisted unionization. The low production of the British coal industry in the 1940's was attributed at least partially to the inability and unwillingness of both management and labor to alter traditional work habits and production methods. A *fourth* influence of culture on work performance has to do with patterns of personal behavior. There are those who say that a culture produces a basic personality which is formulated in the first few years of a child's life and which resists change thereafter. It has been said that the basic personality is moulded by institutions, individual experiences, and philosophical principles, all of which are cultural in nature. It is admitted that physiological influences affect personality and perhaps to a large extent account for individual variation from the basic type found in all cultures.³⁴

³³ Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," *Industry and Society*, William Foote Whyte, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1946), pp. 123-47.

³⁴ Francis Hawley, *The Indian Problem in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Department of Government, 1948), pp. 5ff.; John J. Honigmann, *Culture and Personality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

Management subcultures

Management situations are undoubtedly influenced by both the overall culture of the community and the management culture within the plant itself. Every community will have a number of management subcultures influencing the work habits of the population. Many of these subcultures are very much alike; for instance, the operation of retail establishments in a particular town, or the running of Iowa farms. But there are many management subcultures that are very distinctive; the operation of a ship is still governed by centuries-old tradition.

An example of a modern management subculture of a distinctive nature is the administration of hospitals, where there often develops a rather rigid social stratification with respect to doctors, nurses, technicians, and laymen. Vivid examples of the influence of culture is offered by labor unions. An apt illustration is the resistance of the older craft unions to the replacement of the all-around mechanic by the division of trades into several semiskilled operations. This is particularly true in the building industry, where technological change threatens to alter the role of the carpenter, for instance.

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE

It would seem that human nature can be changed in at least four ways, two of which are in the realm of biological science. The *first* is to breed better human beings, just as better strains of livestock and corn have been produced. The pursuance of this avenue of thought leads one into morasses of philosophical, religious, and political controversy. Suffice it to say that the improvement of the human race in this manner has been advocated seriously for decades by the eugenics movement. An interesting and challenging phantasy along this theme is contained in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.

The *second* biological approach to changing human nature is through psychosomatic medicine. Up until very recently psychoanalysis and Freudian approaches tended to set the pace for treating people who suffered from mental difficulties. At present additional emphasis is being placed upon biochemistry and the relationship between body and mind.

The first method of changing human nature is in the area of social reform and therefore not available as a management tool. The second is entering the management realm through the new departments of industrial medicine in a few great industrial corporations such as du Pont, General Motors, and Caterpillar Tractor. The *third* and *fourth* approaches are available to management directly. These are (3) cultural change, or changing the environment of the work place, and (4) changing behavior through education and learning.

The most obvious means of bringing about cultural change in a management situation is to alter the social climate. A good example is the new "sensitivity" training which attempts to make top management aware of the importance of human reaction to management decisions and actions. The objective is to make the entire hierarchy aware of the importance of two-way communication, consultative supervision, and person-to-person interactions. It is now realized that one cannot alter behavior merely by teaching the techniques of human relations. First, the management culture must be made receptive to the new ideas.

Supervision as a Function of Management

TWO

A dynamic concept of organization

The study of organizations has undergone considerable change in recent years, especially since 1940. Prior to that time emphasis had been placed mainly on the arrangement of tasks, that is, on the work itself as distinct from the worker as a human being. The worker was taken for granted in the sense that he was presumed to be qualified to fulfill the requirements of skills and competence appertaining to the job. Since 1940 the students of organization have devoted more attention to the worker as a human being both as an individual and as a member of groups, and this latter emphasis has tended to modify the conceptual approach to the study of organization without overthrowing orthodoxy.

Chapter

5

Organization orthodoxy is usually subsumed under the heading of “formal organization,” a designation which, although unsatisfactory in many respects, nevertheless persists in the terminology of the latter day social scientists. It is unsatisfactory in the sense that it carries with it a polemical connotation which stamps it as too closely identified with the “machine model,”¹ which in turn carries the suggestion of being exploitive, insensitive to human needs and overly management-centered. There is also some difficulty in defining what is meant by “formal,” but most people, both scholars and practitioners, have come to identify the designation with the hierarchical model of job relationships laid down from above. Formal organization is what management believes to be the allocation of tasks, authority, and responsibility to positions. The word “position” is used advisedly because formal organization does not assign tasks to people but to positions to be filled by people. That distinction is very important in view of the discussion below because of the effect of organization on the development of people. Under orthodox concepts of formal organization people

¹ James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 36ff.

are supposed to be "predeveloped," that is, already qualified to perform the tasks assigned to the positions.

The formal organization is usually manifested in some form or forms of writing, although it is possible to have an unwritten formal organization based on custom, tradition and general acceptance of expected roles. However, it is becoming more and more customary in large complex organizations to write and publish what is expected to be done. This takes the form of organization charts, job descriptions, class specifications, work flow charts, and organization manuals.

The overwhelming trend of circumstances today is in the direction of formalizing organization and procedures. Indeed, alert management is constantly wrestling with the problem, often with considerable emotion. It seems difficult to generalize about the extent to which organization structure should be formalized in writing, but the better managed organizations are undoubtedly going in for it more than they did formerly. There may be those who would say that this has been forced upon them by external circumstances, such as government control, rather than by the dictates of good management. These would undoubtedly argue that formalization makes for stratification and rigidity which handicap initiative, stultify healthy exercise of discretion, and mechanize a process which by its very nature should remain largely personal. While there is much truth in such arguments, it is nevertheless true that an organization manual written in a succinct prose form setting forth the duties, activities, and responsibilities of the several units is becoming a necessity in large scale organization. In addition, although there are certain relationships that charts cannot depict, they are nevertheless useful as setting forth the norms of organization.

The degree of formalization required in the supervisory job varies from organization to organization. *The formalization of organization* means the degree to which it operates according to written plan. In most organizations the lower supervisors are spending more and more time on the formalized paper-work aspects of their jobs. They write the first drafts of job descriptions, they prepare the job breakdowns on new procedures, they review organization charts, and they prepare personnel time schedules for vacations and shifts. No standard-practice manual is worth much unless the line supervisors have determined what should go into it. The lower supervisors also prepare the production reports that form the basis for the control statistics used by the higher echelons.

THREE ASPECTS OF FORMAL ORGANIZATION

Formal organization usually takes three aspects: (1) the job-task hierarchy, (2) the rationalization of tasks or work, and (3) the communications or information system. The first two are traditional but the third, while

not entirely new, has acquired new importance as a result of the cybernetics or information revolution and the very rapid and on-going maturation of computer technology, sometimes referred to as data processing.

The job-task hierarchy

The term "job" is utilized here as synonymous with "position," that is, the aggregate of tasks to be performed by one person. Positions compose a work group which is led by a supervisor. Work groups are in turn grouped both horizontally and vertically in ascending and descending relationships of formal authority. As depicted on a chart the resulting arrangement takes the form of a pyramid with a single position representing supreme authority at the apex. The groups of positions occupying horizontal parity on the chart are referred to as "levels" or sometimes in military terminology as "echelons." The lines connecting the vertical levels are referred to as "channels," a designation which in its narrowest application designates restricted avenues of communication, that is, "through channels."

Bromides and proverbs²

There are certain commonplaces or assumptions that have been associated with the orthodoxy of formal organization. They possess sufficient practicable validity to command the attention and respect of the modern day manager, yet the new sophistication sees them as flexible guides with varying adaptations to meet the different situations rather than rigid dogma. Some of them are: (1) unity of command, (2) restricted span of control, (3) authority from the top down, (4) communication through channels, (5) and distinction between staff and line, and (6) grouping by function or goal.³

More recently attention has been directed to processes of policy, decision and delegation which have their formal aspects as well as psychological. Thus the newer sophistication sees (1) policy as being made at all levels but within the limits appropriate to the tasks at hand.⁴ (2) Decisions are made at all levels but in accordance with the "law of the situation."⁵

² Herbert A. Simon, "The Proverbs of Administration," *Public Administration Review*, 6:53-67, Winter 1946.

³ Refer to a more complete treatment of formal structure in John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 113ff.

⁴ Paul H. Appleby, *Policy and Administration* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1949); Sidney Mailick and Edward H. Van Ness (eds.), *Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).

⁵ Henry C. Metcalfe and L. Urwick (eds.), *Dynamic Administration: The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1940), p. 58.

(3) This all adds up to the need to delegate, which is the right and duty to act given by a superior to a subordinate. These matters are directly related to developmental supervision because of the new trend in reorganization to emphasize decentralization and generate strength at the lower levels by forcing responsibility and decision downward. They are related to concepts of hierarchy because they raise issues of whether the conformation of the organization as depicted on the chart should emphasize a flat or an elevated pyramid. The trend in organization as this is written is toward a flatter hierarchy and reorganization schemes go in the direction of reducing the number of horizontal levels or echelons. This carries with it an implication of longer span of control.⁶

The rationalization of work

The scientific management movement as exemplified by Taylor and his followers was more interested in the study of tasks than in hierarchy. They concentrated on time-and-motion study, work flow, productivity and the maximization of output. They were essentially production engineers who concentrated on shop methods.⁷

It is a very important phase of formal organization to rationalize the manner in which work should be performed through study and the selection of the better methods.

The proper manner of performing the work is set forth in standard practice manuals and various forms of written instructions.

This aspect of formal organization is probably the most important of all to the lower supervisors in unionized plants because it is so intimately involved in the grievance process. Collective bargaining contracts are growing ever more bulky because when disputes arise relative to the assignment or manner of performance of work there is a tendency to avoid future controversy by including a rule in the contract. Thus the contract becomes in a sense one of the governing instruments of the formal organization at the operating level.

Cybernetics of formal organization

The concept of control through information has always been a principal component of formal organization. A quarter century ago the Standard Oil Company of California embarked on a study of American corporate structure and practice which in no small degree led to the modern

⁶ James C. Worthy, "Factors Influencing Employee Morale," *Harvard Business Review*, 28:61-73, January 1950. Worthy's view is confirmed in a more recent study of Naval Petty Officers. David Kipnis and William P. Lane, "Self-Confidence and Leadership," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 46:291-295, August 1962.

⁷ Albert Lepawsky, *Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 116ff. See the chapter on "The Organization of Work" in E. H. Anderson and G. T. Schwenning, *The Science of Production Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1938), pp. 64-91.

organization planning movement.⁸ In a sense its findings constituted the premachine forerunner of today's cybernation because it saw control as based on the interlocking system of communication and feedback. Fayol, the French industrialist and management philosopher whose name is usually associated with the Taylor era and scientific management, also saw control through information and feedback as the heart of effective organization. The point is that, with all due deference to Dr. Wiener,⁹ the concept of feedback as part of the apparatus of organization preceded the modern cybernetics movement.

Feedback is a term which comes from electrical engineering and which embodies the concept of mutuality of communication, that is, mutuality in the sense that messages and responses thereto are sensitive to each other. The subject will be discussed more fully below in the chapter on communication, but needs to be mentioned here because it is so intimately related to concepts of decision, delegation and decentralization, and these are in turn vitally concerned with the development of managers. Such development is greatly facilitated by the opportunity for lower supervisors to make decisions (and mistakes) on their own, which in turn is dependent on the degree of delegation and decentralization. The willingness of top management to delegate or decentralize will depend upon the degree of control (in its traditional meaning) or feedback. In other words, a condition of delegation is the possession of information about what takes place. The practice of "management by exception" is facilitated by a constant flow of pertinent information, but so geared that only the exceptional or potentially problem situations will be called to the superior's attention.

While most organizations of any scale have had some experience with punch cards and mechanical tabulation, we are now entering a period of widespread installation of computers. A wide variety of information will be stored in computer memories to be tapped when needed for decision-making purposes. Cybernated feedback loops will increasingly characterize the mode of life. Much speculation has taken place relative to the effect of this development on the job-task pyramid, one of the most prevalent assumptions being that the pyramid will become wider and blunted at the top, accompanied by the centralization of decision-making. Middle management will tend to shrink or disappear, because its function of communication will be performed by the machine process. The job mix will include more people with the white-collared intellect-based skills and fewer blue-collar and low-skilled manual workers. The people with the higher skills will tend to concentrate in the higher echelons where brain-power will be at a premium.

⁸ Paul E. Holden, Lounsbury S. Fish and Hubert L. Smith, *Top Management Organization and Control* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1951, originally published in 1941).

⁹ Usually credited with origin of term "cybernetics." Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings*, rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1954).

The supervisor will more and more operate as a manager-by-console. Operations are increasingly controlled by manipulation of message devices. This will inevitably tend to reduce the amount of face-to-face interaction among members of an organization, but there is some evidence to suggest that those working in a cybernated system are more satisfied, perhaps because of the higher skills exercised.¹⁰ Studies of worker satisfaction have long shown that people with higher skills get more satisfaction out of their work than those with lower skills.

The supervisor will be involved with the communication process more than ever because he will have to see to it that the production data for his unit is fed into the system. Moreover, he will have to act as master of the consoles located in his bailiwick to the extent of supervising those who tend them and even become a console manipulator himself. He will need to be versed in how the system operates and what it aims to accomplish, which probably means that he will require training in the elements of data-processing, at least enough to have a feel for how his own operations fit into the system as a whole.

DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION

The build-up for World War II stimulated interest on the part of the practitioners of management in the rationalization of organization, chiefly because of the shortage of manpower. This was quite in contrast to the decade of the thirties when manpower was in oversupply. The defense industries began hoarding manpower often unneeded at the moment but in contemplation of impending contracts and requirements. As a result the government required employers to prepare manning tables based on job descriptions in order to justify their demands for the allocation of scarce workers. Many firms prepared charts and written job descriptions for the first time, giving impetus to a practice which has continued to prevail.

The shortage in manpower continued after the war, particularly in the areas of managerial, scientific and technical personnel. The job mix had changed profoundly with those categories increasing and blue-collar decreasing in proportion,¹¹ a trend which continues today. The resulting shortages constituted one of the principal reasons for the rash of executive development programs in the 1950's and 1960's, because of the necessity to create a supply of new managers. Moreover, many firms began to en-

¹⁰ Floyd C. Mann and L. Richard Hoffman, *Automation and the Worker* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960). A somewhat opposite finding relative to clerical workers is reported in Russakoff Hoos, "The Impact of Office Automation on Workers," *International Labor Review*, 82:363-88, October 1960.

¹¹ Samuel E. Hill and Frederick Harbison, *Manpower and Innovation in American Industry*, Princeton University Industrial Relations Section, Research Report No. 96, 1959.

gage in long-range planning in the areas of raw material supply, new markets, plant expansion and diversification. This was accompanied by the necessity to abandon old pragmatic approaches and engage in new programs of research and product development. The net result was a tremendous increase in demand for high-grade manpower.

The need to plan in these other fields led to projecting estimates for future manpower requirements which in the beginning took the form of manning tables based on traditional organization charting techniques. The existing organization was charted and the personnel in the boxes evaluated under such categories as: (1) capable of growth, (2) adequate for present job but not more, (3) scheduled for early retirement. As organization needs were projected for the future it was inevitable that they would reveal deficits in executive manpower, and this in turn led management to give attention to the problem of executive development.

This led to the expansion of staff agencies devoted to this problem under such designations as organization planning, organization development, or executive development. These units were often organizationally separate from the traditional training programs in the personnel departments because they originally called for the skills of organization analysts rather than mere job technicians. But as time went on it became apparent that the developmental aspect would become paramount. Many companies inaugurated programs of executive development based upon a four-way approach: (1) organization planning, (2) a coaching approach to individual development, (3) group training programs, and (4) a clinical, constructive, and nonpunitive type of evaluating the progress of individuals.

The coaching-evaluation programs were based upon the premise that one's own supervisor is best qualified to bear the major burden of development through personal interaction, sometimes referred to under the vernacular designation of "coaching." The periodical evaluation was to take the form of a mutual feedback loop between supervisor and subordinate, the hoped-for result being the development not only of the latter but of the supervisor himself.¹² Coaching will be discussed more fully below, but it should be pointed out that it calls for a type of superior-subordinate relationship varying from the traditional, because intimate personal interaction has not been too characteristic of hierarchical behavior in the past.

New outlook on the nature of jobs

It was stated above that traditional organizational analysis called for the study of the tasks to be performed without reference to the incum-

¹² For an interaction approach to the study of organization see Eliot D. Chapple and Leonard R. Sayles, "The Man, the Job, and the Organization," *Personnel*, 34:8-20, March-April 1958.

bents. Attention to the personal attributes of people would distort the organization picture. Such a concept was based on the well-known fact that job incumbents tend to magnify the importance of their jobs and to make them appear to require higher levels of skill than actually is the case. Moreover, the theory of scientific management was based in part on the belief that there was a "one best way" of performing work and the objective of time-and-motion study was the search for the one best way. While modern job analysts may not be committed so rigidly to the "one best way" concept, they are looking for constants and standards which are generally applicable without reference to the idiosyncrasies of the operatives.¹³

Dynamic concepts of the job

This view of job analysis is still quite appropriate for the great mass of production work, although production methods are now changing so rapidly that they are in a state of flux. Nevertheless standards of productivity and work methods must prevail. But our concern here is with managerial jobs and the development of supervisory skills, and it is in this area where a dynamic concept of the job must prevail.

The idea has been advanced that different types of job descriptions are required for different purposes. In the past there has been a tendency to think of job descriptions mainly for salary-setting purposes, in which case the search of the analyst has been for comparative data: (1) for similar jobs in other organizations, and (2) internal alignment with similar jobs inside the organization. The search has been directed toward the study of constants and standards.¹⁴

Here the problem is how to develop managerial manpower, and what sort of job analysis will best serve that purpose. It is not necessary to abandon the idea of desirable constants and standards in managerial jobs in order to accept the proposition that they are in part influenced by the traits, competence and predilections of the incumbents, and that *this is desirably so*.

The principal desideratum in managerial job relationships is to have superior and subordinate agree on job content. This is directly congruous

¹³ The "one best way" concept is attributed to Frank B. Gilbreth. Anderson and Schwenning, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁴ It was a basic tenet of the pioneer work in organization planning at Standard Oil Company of California that a different type of job description was needed for organization analysis than for salary setting purposes. George Lawrence Hall, *The Management Guide* (San Francisco: The Standard Oil Company of California, 1948), p. 7ff.

The problems generated by rigid concepts of job specifications in public personnel management are discussed by Robert T. Golembiewski, "Civil Service and Managing Work," *American Political Science Review*, 56: 961, 969, December 1962.

with the coaching concept and one of the suggested devices for bringing about rapport between superior and subordinate is to have them discuss job content. Experience has sometimes revealed that the boss has not known enough about the subordinate's job to be an effective coach, and a useful device to bridge this gap has been to have the subordinate prepare a written description of what he does and what he believes he should do. This serves the double purpose of informing the boss and also soothing the ego of the subordinate through this opportunity to tell the boss what he believes to be the parameters of his job.

FUNDAMENTAL AND STAFF CONCEPTS

Two of the most perplexing problems in organization theory are the concepts of staff and line, on the one hand, and functional authority on the other.¹⁵

The staff and line principle

Every large organization has a number of people with superior knowledge and skills whose primary duty consists of aiding others to do a better job. The specialists who do the aiding are ordinarily referred to as *staff people*, whereas those whom they aid are referred to as *line people*. It is possible to spend a great deal of time philosophizing, arguing, and debating about whether an employee is staff or line, but such speculations would not be fruitful from our standpoint. It is sufficient for the supervisor to understand that large organizations require an increasing number of specialists whose duty it is to aid the line. Thus on a given day, Peter Jackson, the foreman, may be contacted by the time study man from the standards department, an industrial relations counselor, the cost accounting specialist, a production control engineer, a training man, a chemist from the research department, and a computer programmer. The relationship between the staff people and the line supervisors has been known to cause friction, usually because the staff takes an intellectual and scientific approach to its problems. This generates a critical attitude because it involves change of methods and behavior on the part of the line, which tends to resent such change. However, there is no reason why they should not learn to work harmoniously together.¹⁶

Lack of cooperation between the two constitutes a warning that the or-

¹⁵ For a fuller treatment see John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), pp. 170-80.

¹⁶ For a glimpse of the dynamics and power struggles between staff and line see Melville Dalton, *Men Who Manage* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959), pp. 71-109. See also Robert C. Sampson, *The Staff Role in Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1955).

ganization is not entirely healthy. Novices in the study of organization sometimes jump erroneously to the conclusion that there is such a thing as a "straight-line" organization, which is sometimes referred to as "military" organization. Nothing could be further from the truth, because few organizations have made greater application of the staff principle than modern military units.

Functional authority

Functional authority is the influence exercised by specialists because of their superior knowledge and skills. Thus a safety supervisor may have the authority to take certain action when he discovers unsafe conditions, although he would be wise to induce the line supervisor to take the corrective steps himself. The accounting department may prescribe the manner in which departmental accounts are to be kept. An engineer in charge of machine tools may prescribe the manner and for what purposes specific tools are to be used, and shop foremen must accede to his desires.¹⁷

It is sometimes said that military organization is a straight-line organization, meaning that there is a direct line of command from top to bottom, with no infringements on the authority of unit commanders. However, a modern military organization has a great deal of functional supervision, because of both size and technical specialization. Thus, an officer who has taken special post-graduate training in nuclear physics will be attached to an artillery division to supervise the introduction of atomic cannon. He will be on the staff of the commanding officer and will work directly with the regimental, battalion, and battery commanders. They will give his opinions the deference merited by his superior knowledge, but the unit commanders will retain administrative or "command" authority.

Organization manuals and job descriptions often contain some such phrase as "administratively responsible to so-and-so and subject to functional supervision from so-and-so."

The multiplication of functional lines could result in disorganization, conflict, and lack of coordination. Nevertheless, it is impossible to abolish the influence of technical specialization. Any solution must be a compromise. The most helpful solution is to exercise functional authority without infringing on the administrative authority of the line commanders. This can be accomplished by careful delineation of authority combined with a tactful, cooperative, and consultative approach to the exercise of all types of authority. In modern large-scale organizations, the two must learn to get along together.

¹⁷ A recent study dealing with the problems of specialization and functional authority is: Victor A. Thompson, *Modern Organization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961).

Functionalism rampant

There is danger in having too many functional controls at the level of immediate supervision. Taylor advocated a system of functional supervision which has perhaps been least followed of all his contributions to management theory and practice.¹⁸ Instead of receiving his orders from one boss, the worker would be answerable to eight: the gang boss, speed boss, inspector, repair boss, three clerks in the planning office, and a shop disciplinarian. As a matter of fact, all of the functions which Taylor parceled out to the several supervisors are often handled by different people in modern shop practice. The difference, today, is that the foreman is regarded as the coordinator for all of them and the only "boss" in the traditional sense.

The Swedish experiment

A system of functional supervision had grown up in the Swedish telephone system, especially at the exchanges.¹⁹ In 1951 an experiment was conducted in which a new type of line supervision was introduced in the experimental group, while the old functional supervision was maintained in the control group. There was a considerable improvement resulting from the new line supervision as compared to functional supervision. Operators took fewer breaks, contacts between operators and the supervisor increased, and supervisors performed a wider variety of supervisory activities. Supervisors spent more time on training and listening-in, and operators answered more calls. There was a significant increase in friendliness among operators, in willingness to submit to inspection, and in acceptance of leadership. Many of the hypotheses tested yielded inconclusive results, but the overall verdict was quite in favor of unitary supervision in preference to functional.²⁰

THE STUDY OF ORGANIZATION

It naturally follows that if organization analysis was to consist of the study of work and tasks to the utter exclusion of man, then the approach must be descriptive of things and not of people. Thus it is no accident that the great names of the scientific management movement, including Taylor and Gilbreth, were engineers, and that Fayol was an industrialist. But dating roughly from the 1930's there occurred a new emphasis on the study of the worker as a human being and as a social animal. Beginning

¹⁸ Frederick W. Taylor, *Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1947), pp. 99ff.

¹⁹ Gunnar Westerlund, *Group Leadership: A Field Experiment* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1952).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-33.

with the celebrated Hawthorne studies, the publication of Barnard's influential work, the revival of sociologists' interest in Max Weber's bureaucracy and intensification of psychological research, a new era was inaugurated. Social science was coming of age and was beginning to take its place in the management realm alongside engineering and finance.

Relation to organization development

The abandonment of the mechanical view of worker behavior required attention to the study of man as a human being. The developmental view of organization, based upon a dynamic concept of the job as outlined above, requires that management tap the social sciences just as medicine in the last half century has turned to the basic sciences such as biochemistry and bacteriology. The result is that most of the basic research in organization behavior is being conducted by psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. As the senior author has pointed out elsewhere,²¹ these social scientists have brought to the study of organization a set of beliefs and values in many respects diametrically opposed to those of traditional management. These include a predisposition toward democracy in all human relationships, a belief in the perfectibility of mankind, a strong bias against manipulation, a distrust of emphasis on hierarchy, a recoil from authoritarian leadership, and a preference for permissiveness in personal interaction. Leadership emerges from the group rather than being imposed from above.

Such a value system runs contrary to that held traditionally by management people and violates in many respects their instinctive reactions to problems of decision and behavior. On the face of it this poses a conflict situation which does not promise well for the entry of the social scientist into the management realm, yet the problem is not new. Practitioners have always been pragmatic in the sense that they place reliance on that which has been tried and seems to work and they entertain a certain mistrust for the untried and experimental, especially if it seems to run contrary to experience. This is true in the field of natural science and engineering, where the theorist and researcher have only recently been embraced. The fact that managers and social scientists have conflicting value systems should be no bar to their working together, because they need each other to develop a working system of bureaucratic operations based on theory, practice and research.²²

²¹ John M. Piffner, "Why Not Make Social Science Operational?" *Public Administration Review*, 22:109-14, September 1962.

²² See the senior author's review of two books which depict an effort on the part of social scientists and industrial managers to understand each other. The books are: Mason Haire (ed.), *Modern Organization Theory* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959); Mason Haire (ed.), *Organization Theory in Industrial Practice* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962). Piffner's review, which

MAKING SOCIAL SCIENCE OPERATIONAL

The next two decades will witness an intensification of effort to make social science operational. This will come about not through any overnight conversion of management to the social ethic, but because management will increasingly ask questions the answer to which will be sought through social science. However, the latter is now so immature that management should not expect quick and easy answers. Indeed, some questions regarding human behavior may not be researchable in the sense that it is possible to discover a "one best way." What will take place is a problem-solving approach to the needs of developmental supervision in which social science will offer its skills with the humble realization that in the applied workaday world pressures and dynamics are different than in the laboratory. Management will increasingly call upon social scientists, both on its own staff and on the outside, for help in building a social climate in which personal development can take place. Each will grow to respect the value system of the other and perhaps a mutual modification of beliefs will take place.

The following are merely a few areas in which augmented use of social science will probably take place.

Group dynamics

Social psychology and sociology have utilized perhaps the most mature and sophisticated methodology in the study of the small group. Even though the inventor of the concept of sociometry belongs to the present generation, that branch of social measurement has developed a rich literature based upon experimental research.²³ It has been found without much doubt that group sentiment is perhaps the most important factor in motivating people to expend effort in the direction desired by management, especially at the "production" level. Sociometry can be used to measure the social climate of organizations, and it may be that sociograms of individual workers will be useful for purposes of placement to fit social skills to job needs.

Behavioral job descriptions

In spite of the hitherto prevalent machine concept of describing tasks without reference to the personal idiosyncrasies of the incumbent, job

discusses the intellectual distance between managers and social scientists, is to be found in *Western Political Quarterly*, 16:237, March 1963.

²³ Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953). Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961). The originator mentioned in the text is J. L. Moreno.

descriptions have always contained some reference to the traits and competencies needed. In the future they will become more behavioral, especially in pointing out the social skills that are required, especially in managerial and supervisory posts. Furthermore, the developmental approach to management will require greater recognition of the fact that jobs are dynamic rather than static and that management job content is strongly influenced by the incumbent. The United States Civil Service Commission has given increasing recognition to the "impact of the man on the job" in establishing its service-wide standards. This eventuality has been influenced in the last two decades by the necessity to make Federal positions more attractive to professional people such as medical doctors and scientists. Boiler-plate job descriptions had to bend to the need to recognize the individualism of high level personnel.

But there is also the consideration that for some jobs a particular behavior pattern is an overriding placement requisite.

Communications audit

An interaction theory of organization must be squarely based on the effectiveness of interpersonal communication. Therefore applied social science research should develop some methods to assess the current state of such communication. Traditional attitude questionnaires are not the answer, although they may have their usefulness.²⁴ What is required is a setting of communication goals and establishment of organization needs, and designing on the basis of such knowledge the interlocking network of feedback loops. What are the message units required to meet organization goals? What are the causes of "noises" which interfere with message transmission and reception?²⁵ Are people listening? Are senders distorting messages? Is intensity of messages diminished en route? Applied social science cannot be made operational in organizations unless there are effective answers to these questions.

Placement

There will be greater emphasis on more precise matching of people to jobs in the new era of ever greater specialization coupled with continuing dynamic change in job content. While there has been considerable research in testing, and while there exist professional organizations whose members are engaged in employment counseling, it would perhaps be agreed even by members of the latter group that placement activities have been more pragmatic than profound. A developmental approach to supervision will require greater attention to the goals of the develop-

²⁴ J. H. Foegen, "Why Attitude Surveys Fail to Measure Attitudes," *Personnel*, 40:69, March-April 1963.

²⁵ See Chapter 11 for communication terminology.

mental process. For what objectives are people being developed? What social and personal skills are required? More attention will be devoted to social skills than in the past. Social science research will be increasingly utilized in the search for answers to these problems.

But let us remember that social science is still in its infancy, perhaps where natural science was at the opening of the nineteenth century.²⁶ It may be that the Faradays are now emerging and that the Edisons will come later, bearing in mind that Faraday discovered how to generate electric current, whereas Edison found out how to apply it.

²⁶ Note the caution uttered by Mansel Keene in discussing Pfiffner's article "Why Not Make Social Science Operational?" *op. cit.* C. Mansel Keene, "Administrative Reality: Advances, Not Solutions," *Public Administration Review*, 22:124-128, September 1962.

The economics of supervision

American business is carried on in an environment that is competitive in spite of the fact that monopoly and governmental control may at times interfere with the free action of competitive forces. On the American business scene today, we see oil competing with coal, natural gas with electricity, railroads with trucks and buses, private automobiles with public transportation, cotton with rayon, and silk with nylon. In the manufacturing field, one of the more familiar types of competition is that of obsolete production methods with newly developed technical processes.

Chapter 6

The supervisor in the business world is an arbiter between two economic forces working in opposite directions. Management must be economy-minded, perpetually struggling to reduce the unit costs of production, whereas workers are constantly bringing pressure to bear, both individually and through their organizations, to better their economic status. The supervisor is a member of management, expected to reflect the economic thought of management in his daily contact with workers. The pressures in the other direction from workers are reflected in factors such as the constant demand for increased wages and the limitation of production by the social organization of the workers.

The supervisor's position as economic middleman, while perhaps often fraught with frustration and resignation, is not without some hope. There are certain fundamental economic concepts based upon facts that the good supervisor should know and be able to support and defend.

PRICES AND ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

The individual worker's personal interest in preserving his job is to a considerable extent linked with the economic survival of his employer. To be sure, there are many people who can secure a job elsewhere with ease, but most workers cannot move readily to a new job. The preserva-

tion of one's employment is thus dependent upon what the economists call the *interplay of prices in a free market*. If the employer's products and services are not competitively priced, he will not sell them. The result cannot be other than layoffs and unemployment for some.

The prudent employer will immediately try to reduce his unit costs of production so that he can meet his competitors' prices, or even price his product lower than others. If he is able to cut prices, then his competitors will look for methods to cut their own costs, perhaps again below his. These are the kinds of pressures under which businessmen live, and they generate a type of insecurity that may be as real from the standpoint of emotional stress¹ as any experienced by the rank-and-file employee.

There may be those who believe that our economy is no longer competitive in nature because of both monopoly influences and governmental controls. The truth of the matter is that most businessmen report that their concerns about competition have increased in recent years, rather than diminished, despite both growth of big government and growth in power of the government. On this matter the *Harvard Business Review* reports James A. Fausch, Assistant General Manager—Sales, Inland Steel Company, as saying, "In the light of changing competition at home, as well as new competition from overseas, we must know our markets—and our competition—better than most business has in the past 20 years."²

The lower supervisors should be led to understand these competitive pressures, even though they may not be close enough to the problems of selling goods or services to actually feel them at first hand. This becomes largely a matter of communication from top management relative to the competitive position of the organization. If layoffs are necessary because accounts have been lost to competitors, the lower supervisors should be told why, and their participation solicited in either lowering costs or improving quality, as the need may be.

The entire organization, from general manager to janitor, should be cost-conscious. It may be difficult to impress upon the employee that by exercising a certain watchfulness and care in his own job, his savings of a few cents a day will be important, but there should still be a constant effort to make the organization as a whole feel that economy is a virtue.

A plant or organization whose operating costs are so high that it will have to cease operating if they go higher is often referred to as a *marginal plant*. It is just barely holding its nose above water and will go under with the next wave of competition.³

¹ For one of many discussions on this topic, see Merrill T. Eaton, Jr., "Executive Stresses Do Exist—But They Can Be Controlled," *Personnel*, 40:8-18, March-April 1963.

² "Management Problems in 1963," A report prepared by the editors, *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 41, January-February 1963.

³ This is an oversimplification of the economist's concept of marginal costs. For a discussion of marginal costs by an orthodox economist, see George Leland

Wages and profits

"Land (including natural resources), labor, and capital are three basic factors of production."⁴ These factors form the basis for considerable speculation in the literature of economics, but for our purposes it seems necessary to discuss only those issues affecting industrial and labor relations.

What is the nature of capital? The economist views capital as being not money, but as the things other than labor and land used in production. These are, for example, machinery, buildings, raw materials, automobiles, chairs, and furniture. One of the big issues is concerned with how such capital should be accumulated. The traditional capitalistic-free-enterprise economy with which we are familiar justifies the accumulation of capital by individuals in the form of personal wealth. This personal wealth is accumulated in the form of savings and is reinvested in business.

In recent years there has been a tendency for the government to invest in capital goods, a practice frowned upon by many who advocate retention of the free enterprise system, and they base their opposition on the belief that government investment in capital goods is an opening wedge for socialism and ultimately will lead to abandonment of private ownership of capital. The point to be remembered is that every economic system, whether it be more or less capitalistic or socialistic, must provide for recurring capital investment in factories, machines, ships, railroads, office buildings, theaters, churches, furniture, and numberless other items.

The supervisor's contacts with the problem of wages and profits probably will be limited to questions concerning wages. There are several aspects of the problem with which he should be familiar, however. The main one, perhaps, is whether the employer is making enough to pay adequate wages, whatever they may be. If the employer is a prosperous corporation whose financial statements are given wide publicity in the newspapers, the amount of profits for any given year may seem excessive, especially to persons who are not familiar with corporate finance.

An averaging of the profits of American industrial corporations over a period of years would reveal profits to be negligible in comparison to the total national income. Thus a transfer from profits in order to increase wages would ordinarily mean relatively little to the workman.⁵ It comes as a surprise to many people that in some businesses, such as retail, the net profit is often a cent or less out of every dollar of goods sold, and

Bach, *Economics—An Introduction to Analysis and Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 432ff.

⁴ C. E. Ferguson and Juanita M. Kreps, *Principles of Economics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 41.

⁵ Harold G. Moulton, *Controlling Factors in Economic Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1949), pp. 294-95.

that it is less than 5 per cent for corporations as a whole. In the prosperous year of 1948, American corporations earned 3½ cents on every dollar of sales.⁶

The business system of the United States can be likened to myriads of huge furnaces which, to survive, must constantly be fed fuel in the form of capital. In order to provide an increasing number of jobs for an expanding population, there must be new blast furnaces, assembly lines, retail stores, transportation systems, warehouses, etc. These all require the investment of new capital which can be acquired in one of three ways: the traditional manner is through investment of savings by private persons; the second source is the plowing back of profits by businesses; the third and more recent source is capital investment by government either through taxation or borrowing.

In the matter of investment of savings Bach has suggested that the notoriously conservative middle class has become an ever more important group in the savings picture. But, he claims, little of that group's savings goes into pioneering business investment. Much the same is true of institutions such as banks and insurance and trust companies which play a major role as receivers of current savings. As investors these groups seek bonds and other "sure income" and "safe capital" investments rather than common stocks and risky investments.⁷

After 1930 there was a tendency for a larger portion of capital investment to come from government. This was originally sparked by depression spending and later by the needs of defense and war. Furthermore, the investing public had become timid as the result of the great depression and the stock market was dormant as a source of capital.

After World War II the government began to sell its industrial defense plants to private investors. In the early 1950's the stock market again became active after twenty years in the doldrums. The new administration pursued a policy of "getting government out of business." The American economy was again expanding on dollars being furnished by private investors through the stock market and the network of investment brokers.

Some controversy arises over the practice of plowing back, or the re-investment of profits in the enterprise. Sometimes it is said that this practice arises from the desire to escape paying adequate wages and to avoid excessive income taxes. Stockholders also often protest that the profits that are reinvested should be paid to them as cash dividends. The fact remains that American business could not have maintained its tremendous expansion of capital investment from 1940 on unless there had been a great deal of plowing back of profits.

Another problem that ties in very closely is that of maintenance and

⁶ *Wages, Prices, Profits* (New York: National Conference Board, 1949), p. 8.

⁷ Bach, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

depreciation. Machines wear out, roofs begin to leak, retail store fixtures become outmoded in style long before their physical usefulness has gone. Thus, money must constantly be spent to maintain capital investment in proper operating condition. This wearing out of capital investment through use and time is referred to as depreciation.

The steps necessary to keep capital investment at its original level or value are referred to collectively as maintenance. Accountants engage in long discussions about whether or not the value of investments can be kept current by proper repair and refurnishing or whether it may also be necessary to reduce the value, particularly on the books, and provide a special savings account so that there can be total replacement at the end of a depreciation period.

It is not for us to decide about the intricacies of depreciation which bother the accountants and engineers, but we should recognize as a fact that physical plants, whether buildings or automobiles, need the constant reinvestment of capital in the form of maintenance.

A business may go on for some time without making adequate provision for maintenance. This may be due to inadequate revenue, a deliberate policy to milk the organization of funds that should go partially at least to maintenance and depreciation, or to other causes. Some marginal businesses may operate on such a policy for many years, but all substantial businesses give due recognition to the necessity for maintenance.

WAGES AND PRODUCTIVITY

A single, great, fundamental truth underlies the entire question of wages: there is only one substantial source for increased wages, and that is increased productivity. Productivity per man hour has increased in American industry an average of 2 and 3 per cent in practically every year since the beginning of the twentieth century. This startling fact has led one prominent economist to predict, in 1949, that in 1980, 70 million workers will be supporting a population of 175 million on a 30-hour week with a per capita output 50 per cent greater than in 1948.⁸

Such increased productivity comes not from transferring wealth from the rich to the poor or from transferring business profits to workers, but rather from the fact that American industry has been able, and will continue, to increase both its total output and its output per worker employed.

Another aspect of this remarkable achievement is that the increased productivity does not come so much from anything the worker has done to make himself more productive, but rather from the increase in capital investment per worker combined with technological and engineering im-

⁸ Sumner Slichter, "How Big in 1980?" *Atlantic Monthly*, 184:39-43, November 1949.

provement. The advances have been made in the areas of increased mechanization arising from research, technical progress, improved management, and engineering. Indeed this very progress has often been achieved in the face of vigorous opposition by workers, both organized and unorganized, who feared that mechanization would require fewer workers and thus deprive some of their jobs, or that the new machines would make their skills obsolete.⁹

The question naturally arises as to whether the benefits of this increase in productivity have been passed on to the worker and, if so, whether future increases will also be so distributed. If one is speaking of the individual laborer or the employees of a particular plant during a specified short-run period, the facts of distribution may not be obvious. However, the long-term record indicates that increased productivity has been passed on to the worker.

"No new profit sharing program in recent years has been the subject of so much publicity and comment as the American Motors Progress Sharing plan agreed on by the Company and UAW. . . ."¹⁰ This plan, along with that which Kaiser Steel Corporation has entered into with the Steelworkers union¹¹ are both considered to be important and different profit sharing plans. They may very well mark a turning point in relations between big labor and big business—in them the worker shares in the profits resulting from cost cutting and increased productivity.

The present high physical standard of living in the United States, unsurpassed anywhere in the world, has come about by virtue of the fact that the product of American industry has been passed on to the rank and file. Even during the depression period of the 1930's those on relief had a higher material standard of living than the working people and farmers in most other parts of the world.

There are those who may agree with this fundamental thesis that the key to higher wages lies in greater productivity, but who would argue that we have not solved the problem of equitable distribution of what we are able to produce in ever greater quantity. There are even those who say that this problem of more equitable distribution can never be solved within the framework of nineteenth century capitalism and free enterprise.

This particular controversy is as old as the recorded history of man. It generates arguments, emotions, and antagonisms which frequently separate brother from brother. Here in the United States we seem to be on our way to solving this conundrum according to our own traditional

⁹ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), Ch. V. Also Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 28-29.

¹⁰ Joseph B. Meier, "Profit Sharing at American Motors . . . it's different," *Profit Sharing Trends*, 16:2-5, January-February 1963.

¹¹ *Time*, May 3, 1963, p. 95.

method of gradual reform. We seem to be forced by circumstances to do things that run contrary to previously accepted concepts of economic individualism. Thus, we have relied upon social legislation to force a more equitable distribution.

Examples of this type of legislation are workmen's compensation, social security, and compulsory collective bargaining between employers and unions. Such measures have always been the subject of bitter political controversies, and those favoring wider distribution of the national income have been regarded as radical and subversive. However, the fact remains that these reforms have taken place and that new ones will continue to become accomplished facts without materially altering the fundamentally competitive nature of the American business system.

The key to the American high standard of living is still, and will continue to be, the ability of our economy to maintain an ever-increasing productivity per worker employed. That higher productivity is the key to a higher standard of living under socialism as well as under private enterprise.

COMMUNICATIONS

The principal problem in conditioning the lower line organization to be cost and economy conscious is one of communication. Top management should remember, in this respect, that the clichés of the higher echelons may carry either positive or negative connotations to the rank and file as well as to the lower supervisors. Does the organization talk about owing loyalty—owing an attempt to understand the economic problems? "One reason many companies fail to get the loyalty they are seeking lies in their misconceived and unrealistic ideas of just what loyalty is."¹²

Waste can be directly related to the continuation of the worker's own job. Exhortation from the executive suite may well sound like a plea for blind, unquestioning obedience.¹³ It may seldom sound, to the supervisor, like an attempt to help develop him as a member of a team to which he wants to be loyal. In a sense the matter becomes more than just a problem of communications, because the worker must be brought to identify his own interest with that of the organization as a whole. This is a universal problem of large-scale organization, and it results from the ever-increasing interdependence of both individuals and groups upon each other. It is a mature organization in which the rank and file member feels a sense of belonging, a responsibility akin to the highest form of citizenship. He has a sense of corporateness, the feeling of responsibility that leads individuals to understand and act in accordance with the proposi-

¹² Nathaniel Stewart, "A Realistic Look at Organizational Loyalty," *The Management Review*, 50:19-24, 80-84, January 1961.

¹³ *Ibid.*

tion that in many things the common interests require the individual to subordinate his own interests. That is the problem of management today; indeed, it is the problem of leadership, whether it be in the Podunk Bottling Works or the United Nations.

How then are we to communicate to the lower supervisors the economic facts of American life so that they will feel them with a conviction that will counter specious economic propaganda? The first step should be to develop a language or phraseology that has laundered out the emotional loading of the Executives' Club. It is quite all right to have an emotional loading—indeed, it may be desirable—but it should take into account the possible emotional reaction of those to whom the communication is addressed. Thus, fulminations against supersecurity as being contrary to the American way may fall on deaf ears, whereas the facts about the strategic status of the company as to costs, and hence jobs, may have effect.

The next step is to make the rank and file feel identified with the organization. This ties in directly with the sense of belonging, the generation of teamwork, the practice of consultative supervision, and the development of social satisfaction referred to at greater length in other chapters.

Another step is to develop clarity and frankness in the presentation of data relating to the financial status of the organization. Clarity and frankness are inseparable because the feeling is widespread that financial statements are deliberately rigged to hide assets, and that this is done in order to avoid the payment of higher wages. This is a problem that can be solved only by long and continuous effort to convince employees of management's sincerity and desire to be frank. Even then it becomes necessary to surmount the mental barrier that even intelligent people throw up against accounting statements or the simplest mathematics of finance. The only approach to the problem seems to be the elementary teaching tactic of stating simple truths over and over, perhaps striving for variety in media of presentation, but all the while patiently emphasizing points that appear naïvely elementary to executives. If American high wages are due to high productivity, which in turn arises from research, technical improvement, and management ingenuity, why must this information be confined to the *Atlantic Monthly* and *The Management Review*? Should there not be a way of saying these things through the employees' magazine, the bulletin board, and other media that reach the rank and file?

PROPRIETOR-MINDEDNESS

A serious problem in large-scale organization is to induce individuals to become organization-minded. People in the higher management group tend to feel that they have a personal stake in the organization, but the members of the rank and file have very much less of this feeling.

One has heard a great deal in recent years about the desirability of recognizing the lower supervisors as members of management. There is a danger that in practice this laudable objective will be achieved more often by lip service than by giving the foremen the duties which will lead them to become vitally involved in the management process. If they are to become managers in fact, they must be allowed to function as managers—to do the things which managers do. If it is desired that they be proprietor-minded, they must play the role of a proprietor, at least to the extent that large-scale organization permits it. What are some of these activities?

Make him manager of a cost center

The modern trend in management control emphasizes the need for establishing cost centers throughout the organization. A cost center is a subunit which forms the basis for cost accounting. In substance it is a device for rendering a profit-and-loss statement or balance sheet for each subunit. This permits not only top management but also each subordinate head to know who is out of line on costs. It also stimulates a supervisor to take a proprietorship or entrepreneur attitude toward his unit. He knows that if costs are out of line, he will be held to account and that he must do what a prudent proprietor would do to protect his financial position.

A study conducted at the Detroit Edison Company left little doubt that the supervisors who are concerned about costs tend also to be more competent in other supervisory activities.¹⁴ Thus they are also more concerned about such matters as production and absences. But lower supervisors reflect the influence of their own department heads relative to cost-consciousness.

When department heads delegate responsibility and consult them about budget decisions, lower supervisors become more sensitive to costs. Such delegation is not only associated with concern about keeping costs down; it also stimulates foremen to maintain the records which tell them where they stand costwise. In other words, responsibility goes along with accountability in making supervisors conscientious about costs.

Cost-consciousness is not an isolated trait in its relation to delegation, because those department heads who delegate budget decisions also stand high on delegation in general. They delegate to, and consult with, lower supervisors on a wide range of management matters. An interesting sidelight was offered by supervisors whose superiors did not delegate: they wanted more authority in making cost decisions.

¹⁴ Floyd Mann and Howard Baumgartel, *The Supervisor's Concern with Costs in an Electric Power Company* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1953).

Give him a budget of his own

It has been the practice too often in the past to regard budgeting as an adjunct of higher management alone. The concept of the cost centers cannot work well unless budgetary decisions are decentralized sufficiently to allow the chief of a cost center to act as a manager. Organizations will differ, of course, in the extent to which budgetary decisions can be decentralized as far as the foreman level. It seems probable, however, that more can be done along this line than hitherto has been thought either desirable or possible. For instance, there was a foreman who insisted on retaining factory space that he was not using. But when cost figures showed his space rental charge to be sharply out of line, he voluntarily asked to be relieved of the room he was not using.

Let him in on staff work

The lower line supervisors should be "in the know" about the staff work that affects them. There was a time when staff work was conducted in an atmosphere of detachment from the line, but this is probably changing in most virile organizations. It is more and more understood that staff recommendations, in order to be adopted, must gain the acceptance of the line organization.

Let him participate in establishing work standards

The contemporary emphasis on costs and productivity has been accompanied by a growing interest in what constitutes a fair day's work. In the past, the setting of productivity standards and rates was too often regarded as a unilateral function of the stopwatch people. It is now more and more becoming a cooperative venture engaged in by the supervisors and the union. It is especially necessary to get agreement in these days of rapid change in production technology when rates can so quickly get out of line.

Give him a personal financial stake

The logical final step in attempting to make lower supervisors feel like proprietors is to establish a financial reward dependent upon their own good management. "Profit sharing and other types of revenue participation plans are by far the most promising vehicle for a wide range of business enterprises, provided they are properly administered and supported."¹⁵

¹⁵ William G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 269.

Economic education

Many members of management and the business community have been alarmed at what they believe to be the workers' indifference to the "free enterprise system." The consequence has been a widespread effort on the part of industry to introduce the rank and file to the basic concepts of economics. When the editors of *Fortune* attempted an evaluation of what they term the "Great Free Enterprise Campaign," they concluded that it was not "worth a damn."¹⁶

The reasons given for this alleged failure to capture the ears and minds of the rank and file are not simple. Among those given are reliance upon salesmanship, which has been effective in disposing of goods and wares but less so in winning minds to concepts and ideas. Furthermore, Whyte claims that the business community committed a fundamental tactical error in jumping emotionally to the conclusion that America had to be sold to Americans. The campaign was conceived in fear of political trends and in hope that these could be reversed, but this was not openly admitted. Instead, the tack was taken that only one section of the community believed in America and that all others were somehow enemies.

Methodical approach needed

What is needed is a methodical approach based upon facts rather than exhortation. There have been several efforts to do just this.

The Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago has conducted its basic economics course in several large corporations. Emphasis is placed upon how the economic system works rather than on its rewards. Meetings are held in the plant. Although there must be at least some presentation, the objective is to induce the trainees to think for themselves through conference participation and discussion. The university trains conference leaders from selected employees of the corporation, and these in turn lead the in-plant meetings. Simple and attractive pamphlets dealing with economic concepts are furnished the participants.

The subjects covered include managing one's personal income, competitive prices in action, and the relation of productivity to living standards. Classical economic concepts are discussed under such headings as capital, wages, profits, and the ups and downs of the business cycle. Other topics are security and opportunity, America and the world economy, and money and banking.

Before-and-after testing leaves little doubt that economic knowledge is increased as a result of these conferences. It also seems likely that some change in heart and conviction takes place as a result of using the con-

¹⁶ William H. Whyte, Jr., and the editors of *Fortune*, *Is Anybody Listening?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1952), p. 7.

ference procedure, which induces people to draw their own conclusions instead of being exhorted to believe what management wants them to. An official of the Republic Steel Corporation, one of the pioneers in this program, states that a friend argued with him, "you ought to tell your supervisors what they should believe."¹⁷ The official replied that if people know the facts about the economic system "we will take a chance on their believing it."

Understanding economics is difficult

Though economics, in itself, is not inherently difficult—certainly not as difficult as advanced mathematics for instance, it becomes extremely difficult as one attempts to have one's economic questions answered. For each question, there seems to be many answers, all of which sound reasonable to the nonexpert. Another reason is that economics is so mixed up in our everyday lives that we have unconsciously accumulated a great mass of half-truths about it which "subtly dominate our minds when economic questions come up."¹⁸

¹⁷ E. S. Bowerfind, "Using Supervision to Spread Economic Understanding," Personnel Series No. 145 (New York: American Management Association, 1952), pp. 39-42.

¹⁸ Bach, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

The supervisor and the union

A great deal of lip service is given to the proposition that the lower supervisor has a key role in union relationships. But the true picture would often find him as the forgotten man. A clue to the understanding of this situation lies in the fact that management, by and large, holds a middle class system of values and these values tend to be antiunion. Indeed, management works in an intellectual climate which is somewhat akin to the cold war of international politics. If the truce between management and labor is not literally an armed one, it is nevertheless a truce with battle lines drawn. To be sure, there are many situations where collective bargaining has evolved into a stabilized equilibrium in which the channels of power have been stabilized. There are even instances in which a modicum of good will, pleasant interaction and even camaraderie exist between the two sides. But it would be going too far to say that management is happy about the presence of the union.

Chapter 7

It is first necessary to identify the principal elements of the management belief system. Management is more at home in the physical realm than in the world of people. There is understandable order in the physical world and its components can be manipulated; its behavior can be predicted and so is explainable by a rationality which is confined to the management mind. This rationality is evidenced in the logic of scientific management, the theory of the market in laissez faire economics, the drive for productivity, and the insistence on management prerogative.

The logic of the scientific management movement is based upon measured production combined with the maximization of effort. This is in turn related to financial incentive, a strong belief in individualism, a Horatio Alger concept of individual progress based on personal drive. There is a moralizing component springing from the conviction of "honest" work and perhaps best encapsulated in the widely heard designation "The Protes-

tant Ethic,"¹ which is in a sense a religious justification for economic individualism. God smiles on those who work hard, save their money, and garner unto themselves the material rewards of their labor.²

The management mind is not at home with the Social Ethic, especially when such an ethic involves government interference with the laissez faire economic order.³ In the background is a tacit acceptance of social Darwinism; a feeling that it is justifiable for the strong to survive in the economic struggle. While he would not utter it in these terms, the archetype manager is in a sense Platonic in that he believes in the aristocracy of ability; but there is this difference: he would not place the Guardians in authority in the government but rather in the economic realm. Indeed, he would be quite apprehensive about a group of Guardians running the government, unless, of course, they were of his kind.

The attitude toward the management prerogative is in a sense parallel to the apprehension of politics. The management prerogative consists of management's insistence on the right to use its own discretion in making decisions relative to the running of the enterprise. It justifies this stand on the basis that it is willing to be judged upon results but that it cannot maximize these results unless given the authority to make the proper decisions unfettered by external restrictions. The demands of labor unions are among the most obvious restrictions on the exercise of management prerogative. But the insistence on management prerogative is at least a partial defense against becoming involved in the political process. The management mind is essentially authoritarian in its instinctive reactions, with the result that the political process is distasteful to it. The latter deals with problems of power often separated from rational considerations. Indeed there are those who would say that the political process is essentially non-rational in nature, although a case can be made that it has its own distractive brand of rationality.⁴

Labor relations is politics

What we have been leading up to is the statement that labor relations is essentially political in nature and are characterized by a struggle for power in an environment where the lines of conflict are well defined. Politics consists of the mutual adjustment of differences, sometimes rather

¹ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1956), p. 161ff.

² This is of course an oversimplification. For deeper understanding consult R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Mentor Books, 1947). See also writings of Max Weber.

³ For an excellent discussion of the opposing fundamental assumptions of labor and management see Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), pp. 146-66.

⁴ John M. Pfiffner, "Administrative Rationality," *Public Administration Review*, 20:125, Summer 1960.

informally, sometimes in an atmosphere of heated conflict, and sometimes in a democratic manner facilitated by institutions adapted to the channeling of conflict. The institutions of Western political democracy constitute examples of the latter and in the twentieth century we are seeing parallel institutions developed for the handling of relations between management and labor.

THE SUPERVISOR AS POLITICIAN

The supervisor has been characterized as a "master and victim of double talk,"⁵ as a middleman and as a forgotten man. The supervisor in a unionized work environment is in the vortex of a swirling mass of conflicting values, demands, and sentiments. It may be an overstatement to say that he is at the vortex because that might indicate that he is a vital factor or participant, which may not be the case at all. Management, feeling as deeply as it often does, may not be willing to give the lower supervisors a vital decision-making function. The same may be true of the union when it feels that it is to its interest to push the settlement of grievances up the hierarchy for decision. Most formal grievance systems provide for a hierarchy of appeals with successively higher status people participating on the way up.

Referring to the supervisor's role as charged with a political component, it seems desirable to contrast the management mind as characterized above with those aspects of the labor mind which conflict with it. In the first place, labor demands a large degree of participation in determining the conditions of work. Two of the outstanding examples are the rate of production and the grading of jobs. It is an elementary truism, overwhelmingly substantiated by research, that work groups will set their own rate of production so as to not coincide with management's concepts of what production should be. The various devices of scientific management are aimed at determining (1) the manner in which the work should be performed and (2) the rate of production. Thus the supervisor may find himself in the role of mediator between (1) the time study man, (2) the union steward, (3) his own supervisors, and (4) his own work group.

A casual sampling of recent arbitration cases reveals disputes deriving from the following issues: job assignments, interpretations of seniority rates, discharge of an employee for intoxication, discipline of a union steward for leaving his work place on union business, allotment of overtime, supervisor making antiunion utterances during organizing campaign, and a wildcat strike arising from an unheated shop. These issues are of the type which call for a consultative negotiating (political) type of behavior. The point is that the supervisor has to "live with" the people he contacts daily at work, and in this relationship there must be considerable

⁵ F. J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, 23:286-287, Spring 1945.

give-and-take. This is particularly true in the administration of collective bargaining agreements where the climate is conditioned by (1) a legalistic emphasis on rights under the contract and (2) mutual suspicion (and often veiled hostility) between the parties. Thus in addition to being a middle-man the supervisor must be somewhat of a politician.

JURISTIC ATMOSPHERE

The late Sumner Slichter stated a quarter century ago that industrial relations had in fact developed into industrial jurisprudence, following a system of law and legal procedure so widespread and all-pervading that the tenor and spirit of labor relations had tended even then to be juridical in approach.⁶ This trend has become intensified in the intervening decades as manifested by the following developments, among others: (1) the practice of spelling out in each succeeding contract provisions arising from disputed issues of shop practice, (2) the increasing importance of the grievance procedures as a means of settling operating issues, (3) the accelerated practice of resorting to arbitration, (4) the rise of specialization in labor law, and (5) the tremendous increase in the volume of labor cases which appear before the regular courts on appeal from administrative decision.

A considerable proportion of labor cases is decided in the first instance before administrative tribunals such as the National Labor Relations Board, industrial accident commissions, and civil service commissions. The basic theory underlying the administrative process is that the decision shall be based upon a clinical or fact-finding approval rather than on legal precedent, and administrative tribunals are often composed of laymen to the law. They are not expected to follow a decision-making process based on *stare decisis*. However, at least three influences tend to make administrative hearings take on the trappings of legal procedure even though in practice they are not requested to follow jury trial rules of evidence. The first is the fact that administrative decisions are often appealed to the courts with the result that they have one ear cocked toward what the courts have said in previous cases of a like nature. The second influence toward a legalistic approval is the utilization of trial examiners who are usually lawyers, and the third consideration is the worker who as the appellant may be represented by a lawyer—often a labor lawyer. The result is that a common law of labor relations has tended to arise with the inevitable influence of precedent governing decisions.

Private compared with public management

It would seem that public and private management of labor relations are moving toward each other in actual practice. Industry is taking on

⁶ Sumner Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 1-8.

more and more of the legalistic job security aspect of civil service procedure, while governmental employees are becoming more widely unionized. The chief difference lies in the emphasis placed on day-to-day bargaining at the shop level in private industry. The office of steward is less likely to be found in civil service. However, a similar pattern of relationships exists in both types of employment as far as immediate supervision is concerned, because the steward is becoming less important in industry. The grievance procedure tends to short-circuit both him and the foreman.⁷

THREE PHASES OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

There are roughly three phases of personnel administration wherein the supervisor deals with the union: (1) negotiation of the contract, (2) day-to-day administration of the agreement, (3) the appellate or judicial phase. These will be discussed successively. While the lower supervisors are mainly concerned with the second phase, or day-to-day administration, their part in the other two should not be dismissed as being negligible.

During the period when the union is first entering the plant, the lower and middle supervisors are likely to be neglected. It is a period of tension, especially when management has yielded with considerable reluctance to collective bargaining. Emotions run high, and there is a desire to entrust the delicate aspects of negotiation to confidential and trusted representatives of management.⁸ Consequently, an aura of secrecy surrounds the actual negotiations, which may be conducted off the premises in a hotel or in a distant city.

Union communication faster

During the 1930's, when militant unionism was spreading rapidly into new areas, the union line of communication from the negotiating table to the shop was often faster than that of management. Indeed, foremen were often embarrassed by having their subordinates boast to them about concessions unknown to the foreman. His line of communication from above had been shut off entirely, while that of the union was often left open.

⁷ Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953), pp. 34-42.

⁸ For discussion of the negotiation process, see Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 691ff.; Walter H. Carpenter, *Case Studies in Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953); Harold W. Davey, *Contemporary Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951); William B. Wolf, *The Management of Personnel* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1961), p. 305ff.; Michael J. Jucius, *Personnel Management* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959), p. 480ff.; J. H. Foegen, "Upward Bias in Collective Bargaining," *Personnel Journal*, 42:25-28, January 1963.

This, along with other grievances, was responsible for the movement toward unionization of foremen, especially during the early years of World War II.⁹

Bringing foremen into negotiations

Since unionism and collective bargaining have been accepted as a normal part of industrial life, many companies try to draw the foreman into the negotiating phase, at least to the extent of keeping the supervisory forces informed about the course of negotiations. One method of achieving this objective is to have supervisors from the lower levels constantly present at negotiations. Sometimes the foremen are designated to attend upon a rotating basis, so that the maximum number will have a chance to observe and feel the pulse of negotiations. It is increasingly the practice for a committee of workers to participate in the negotiations on the union side and for a representative group of supervisors to sit in on the company side.¹⁰ The lower supervisors' role in this respect should not be altogether passive, on the receiving end of communications only. Some opportunity should be given for the expression of their opinions about the large number of subjects that go into the contract, because these same lower supervisors bear the major responsibility for fulfilling the contract provisions. Hence it would seem folly to undertake the annual renegotiation without consulting them concerning how specific provisions have worked out in practice.

THE DYNAMICS OF UNIONISM AT THE WORK LEVEL

The lower supervisors in a unionized establishment often find themselves the focus of several opposing forces, especially if the union leadership is characterized by considerable militancy. In the first place, as at least nominally a member of management, the supervisor is the constant recipient of communications to follow certain policies and to do particular

⁹ American Management Association, Research Report No. 6, *The Unionization of Foremen* (New York, 1945), and American Management Association, Research Report No. 7, *The Development of Foremen in Management* (New York, 1945), p. 14.

¹⁰ "During negotiations some companies seek to get their views to the employees directly. This they have done by convoking general meetings, by sending out letters or pamphlets, by publishing advertisements, by posting notices in the plant, and in a few cases by distributing printed copies of the verbatim record of the bargain sessions." Neil W. Chamberlain, "Group Relationships," from E. Wight Bakke and Clark Kerr, eds., *Unions, Management and the Public* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948), p. 369. Originally published in Neil W. Chamberlain, *Collective Bargaining Procedures* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944), p. 103.

things that in many instances he considers to be unwise or impossible to fulfill. In the second place, he is very near to the informal social organization of the shop or the office and cannot avoid being influenced by the sentiments, beliefs, and culture of the people whom he is expected to supervise. These sentiments and beliefs are not infrequently imposed to the colder logic of management, which is often communicated to him from some aloof and remote echelon above. Third, the supervisor must deal with union officials, one of whom—the shop steward or chapel chairman—may be his immediate subordinate and subject to his work orders.¹¹

The difficult task of the lower supervisor is frequently heightened by the rivalry between management and the union for the loyalty of the workers. In their struggle for union security, the union leaders feel constantly impelled to demonstrate some concrete achievements to the members. In an establishment where collective bargaining has existed for some time and where it has become an accepted part of the landscape, workers can be divided into two categories relative to their union attitudes. A group of old-timers are strongly union-minded because they went through the militant organizing era and remember the alleged injustices of pre-union days. The younger members will tend to take the benefits won by collective bargaining as accepted facts and no longer a matter for controversy. Hence, the union officials feel spurred to do something to prove their worth.

Union officers

This union militancy has its most constant impact on the lower supervisors in the day-to-day administration of the contract, particularly in those organizations where the union has perfected its organization of shop stewards, committeemen, and business agents. These officers are the ones who have immediate day-to-day contact with the workers and working conditions. They are in constant touch with foremen and supervisors in ironing out disputes that arise under the contract, the common term for which is *grievances*. In its struggle for the loyalty of the worker, the union will attempt to defend the employee in grievance situations in a manner that will enhance the prestige of the union. Union officials have even been accused of manufacturing grievances on rather flimsy grounds just for the purpose of creating a dynamic atmosphere of controversy that will give the impression that the officers are earning their pay.

¹¹ Though this chapter is not intended to include a history of the union movement, the reader is commended to at least one chronicle of that movement. For an interesting account, see Maxwell C. Raddock, *Portrait of an American Labor Leader* (New York: American Institute of Social Science, Inc., 1955). It is the story of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America under the stewardship of William Levi Hutcheson.

FOREMAN IS FORGOTTEN MAN

One study of a representative cross section of unionism in plants revealed that the foreman is the forgotten man,¹² much as he was in the early 1940's. Some of the grievances quite characteristic of that era have not entirely disappeared. While he was ostensibly a member of management, the foreman felt that he was not given the authority and status that would make him an integral part of the management team. He was left out of consideration in contract negotiations, often being made to look ridiculous because management's concessions to the union contradicted his statements to the workers.

Pay concessions, particularly relative to overtime for hourly workers, frequently left the supervisor with a take-home envelope smaller than that of those whom he supervised. The supervisors were denied the job security against arbitrary treatment that the union afforded rank-and-file workers. Perhaps the foreman's principal grievance during those years of full employment and premium overtime was the feeling that foremen were discriminated against as to pay. The situation was magnified when concessions such as retroactive wage settlements were not accorded to the foremen.

For these reasons, foremen started to unionize themselves, and the movement was progressing successfully when, in 1947, the Taft-Hartley Law ruled that employers are not required to bargain collectively with foremen. It is still, however, legal to bargain with them on a voluntary basis.¹³

Many progressive managements have begun to realize the importance and difficulty of the foreman's job and are trying to correct the evils of the past and at the same time to provide supervisors with the tools and skills necessary to operate in the new environment. The most casual observer will note that supervisors in a union situation play a role that requires a coordinative type of leadership, as well as tact, patience in consultation and listening, objective fact-finding, and emotional stability. These details of the supervisor's job lead to consideration of the second phase of his collective bargaining duties—the day-to-day administration of the contract at the work level.

ADMINISTRATIVE PHASE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The factor that perhaps distinguishes the trade union from other types of employee organizations is that the former has organized itself to operate at the work level where it acts as a buffer between supervision and

¹² Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*

¹³ Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

the worker. The reasons why the union has entered the arena of the shop and office are amply set forth as follows:

In practice, under nonunion conditions supervisory authority is frequently misused. At best, supervisors are bound to be influenced by their like or dislike of individual workers and to make errors of judgment. At worst, the work force becomes a hotbed of intrigue, favoritism, and "shop politics." Workers may be obliged to make regular "gifts" to their foreman as a condition of holding their jobs, and larger gifts for promotions and other favors. Against this sort of thing the individual worker is helpless. He cannot with impunity go over the head of his foreman to higher officials of the company. He can quit the job; but this is a step which most workers, for reasons already noted, are extremely reluctant to take. During depression periods even this recourse is denied to the worker, and he must accept passively whatever treatment his supervisors choose to mete out to him.¹⁴

The shop steward

The lowest official of the union is usually called the *shop steward*, though he may be referred to as the *shop committeeman* or the *chapel chairman*, as in the printing trades. The shop steward is a worker, often elected by his fellow-workers, who is expected to put in a full day's work for his employer, except for a small amount of time that can be devoted to union business. Stewards vary in their approach to their jobs just as individuals vary in other human activities: they may be lazy or energetic, interested or lackadaisical, unassuming or overbearing, truculent and officious or helpful and courteous. Contracts frequently state the amount of time that stewards may devote to union business. Aggressive stewards may tend to abuse this privilege, thus giving rise to tension between the steward and the supervisor. Such a situation is not conducive to discipline in the traditional sense, and the lower supervisors will need the sympathetic understanding and strong backing of their superiors.

The American workingman sees no inconsistency in being loyal both to the company and the union. This means that the old concept of undivided authority, or unity of command, must be modified in day-to-day relations. Relationships cannot be conducted on the basis of standing on each other's rights. There must be a certain give and take. That is why both foreman and steward should know not only what is contained in the contract, but also how to control their emotions and feelings under stress.¹⁵

Consultative leadership on both sides

The situation requires on the part of both the foreman and steward the consultative-coordinative type of leadership that is advocated in subsequent

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵ Benjamin M. Selekman, *Labor Relations and Human Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1947), p. 55.

chapters. The pattern of this type of leadership includes listening, counseling, recording, empathizing, and taking action in an atmosphere of friendly conciliation tempered by sufficient firmness and decisiveness to maintain respect. Such a pattern of behavior runs contrary to traditional concepts of leadership at the work level. To modify the behavior of the lower supervisors along these lines, they must be assured that their superiors not only approve but also give them hour-to-hour and day-to-day backing in their new consultative role.¹⁶

The supervisor has a new role that is characterized by conciliation and consultation with union officials; nevertheless, he should have a well-developed sense of when to stand his ground and say "no." When dealing with the steward, the foreman should conduct himself in a manner that reflects inward strength, even when he is quite aware of lack of power to act. It may even be desirable to take action on moot questions and allow them to be appealed for ultimate settlement. There is nothing that more readily invites disdain in man-to-man relationships than indecision and the type of evasiveness that takes refuge in lack of authority.¹⁷

The good supervisor sees that the steward does not abuse the privileges that are set forth in the contract. Thus it is usually stated how much company time may be devoted to union business and other matters, such as whether solicitation of membership and collection of dues may be carried on during working hours. The role of the steward will depend in many cases largely upon the make-up of the individual occupying the office.

Not every steward will be a zealous protector of union rights. However, there will be those who will take advantage of their position to escape responsibility for doing the employer's work. Indeed, there may even be those who will use union business as a subterfuge for doing no work for either the union or the employer.

Supervisor should adopt a listening attitude

A competent shop steward usually likes to secure the credit for settling a grievance, thus raising the question of the proper action to be taken when an employee approaches a supervisor without consulting a steward. Under these conditions it would seem proper for the supervisor to listen until the employee's story indicates whether a matter of interest to the union is involved. If union involvement becomes apparent, the supervisor should call in the steward to listen to the entire story.¹⁸

When the steward brings in the grievance himself, he should be given opportunity to present the facts fully. Sympathetic listening will tend to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁷ Glenn Gardiner, *When Foremen and Steward Bargain* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1945), p. 158.

¹⁸ Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

minimize the steward's tendency to exaggerate the gravity of the complaint. On the other hand, evasiveness and curtness will cause the steward to overdo his presentation to compensate for the supervisor's obstructiveness.¹⁹ The courtesy to be accorded the steward should in no case deprive the supervisor of face-to-face contact with the aggrieved employee. Although it is usually best to listen to complaints with both the employee and the steward present, there is nothing to prevent the supervisor from talking with the employee in private when circumstances seem to justify it. This may serve as a desirable internal check when the steward's demands do not reflect the desires and sentiments of the employee.

Pass information on to union officials

The most satisfactory relationship between supervisors and stewards will be fostered by free and easy communication. There is nothing that incenses union officials more than to receive *ex post facto* notice that a decision has been made, frequently without a hearing.²⁰ Union officials like very much to be "in the know." They regard it as part of their duty to be alert, and a part of their political stock-in-trade is to create in their constituency confidence that the officers are not only on the lookout but just a little bit smarter than the folks on the management side. The lower supervisors must of course be governed in their communicativeness by the policies of their superiors. It nevertheless seems good advice for them to cultivate behavior that is as open and frank as their management environment will permit.

CLINICAL VERSUS LEGALISTIC APPROACH

The lower supervisor operates in a dual capacity: (1) as a buffer between his superiors and the workers and (2) as a focal point between two different philosophies and approaches to the settlement of industrial disputes. Selekmán has called the former *the clinical approach* and the latter *the legal or juridical approach*.²¹ The conflict between these two methodologies runs throughout the social sciences. Familiar examples are to be found in the commitment of the insane, the handling of the juvenile criminal, and more recently, in the area of public health.²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

²⁰ Paul Pigors, *Effective Communication in Industry*, Lt. Rush Toland Memorial Study No. 1 (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1949), p. 71.

²¹ Selekmán, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

²² The clinical professions have long tended to advocate abandonment of the legal commitment of the insane and commitments by courts of law in favor of commitment by an administrative clinic of specialists. Juvenile courts in the most advanced states have long been clinics rather than courts, even though they have been manned by legally trained persons.

The heart of the clinical approach is that problems of human behavior should be settled on the basis of face-to-face dealings between the principals in matters of abnormal conduct. Thus, the lower supervisors should be encouraged and trained to conduct themselves in such a manner that the greatest number of disputes will be settled between the foreman and the steward at the work level.

The grievance system under collective bargaining has often tended to become more legalistic than clinical in approach. The contracts have often become huge volumes that state in considerable detail the ruling law in industrial situations. The great labor statutes such as the Wagner Act, the Taft-Hartley Law and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 have created rights on the one hand and criminal penalties on the other, and these have resulted in litigation on a large scale. Lawyers have entered into those aspects of collective bargaining that many believe are not strictly of a legal nature.²³

There has thus arisen what Sumner Slichter has termed *industrial jurisprudence*, which is a system of law and legal procedure so widespread and all-pervading that the tenor and spirit of labor relations tends to be juridical in approach.²⁴ Whether this is good or bad is necessarily a matter of opinion.

For our current purposes it seems that the lower supervisors must adapt themselves to the requirements of the legal method, and this resolves itself into securing evidence and recording it in such a manner that it will stand up in court, whether that court be a grievance committee or the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE JUDICIAL PHASE

The supervisor's dual personality is again evidenced by the fact that under formal grievance procedure he is a judge of the court of first instance and a prosecution witness on appeal. It has been advocated above that he act as a clinician in the first instance, as do judges of courts of law when handling juvenile and domestic relations cases. Instead of merely pronouncing judgment as to guilt or innocence, he should attempt to conciliate and settle the dispute, thus obviating the necessity for appeal.²⁵ Perhaps the soundest advice that can be given to a supervisor in this respect is that he should handle all grievance cases from the beginning with the possibility in mind that they may be appealed.

²³ Disputes relative to the right to engage in labor consultation and practice have arisen between lawyers on the one hand and management consultants on the other.

²⁴ Sumner H. Slichter, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Chapter 8 deals with grievance procedure in some detail.

Build the record

This means that he must prepare a careful record, not only in the case of employee grievances, but also where discipline or dismissal may be involved. Advocates of a high degree of management discretion look with considerable distrust and regret upon this legalistic approach to personnel relations. However, the matter has now arrived beyond the philosophic stage and become accomplished fact. Employees are now in a position where they can appeal a large number of management decisions that affect them personally. The result is that supervisors must be in a position to present the type of evidence that will stand up ultimately in a court of law, because labor cases can be, and often are, appealed to courts of law. This is one of the principal reasons for the requirement that all grievances be originally presented in writing.

Obtain and preserve the evidence; marshal witnesses

In cases handled under a system of personnel jurisprudence, the supervisor not only is a witness himself but also must marshal the testimony of others. Often fellow-employees are reluctant to testify because of fear that they might become involved in unpleasant recriminations by fellow-workers or management. Thus, the good supervisor usually finds it necessary to keep some sort of record of incidents. This sort of thing is distasteful to many people, not only because of their aversion to keeping records but also because employee groups frown upon the maintenance of any type of record that will reflect adversely upon fellow-employees. As long as personnel administration continues to become ever more judicial in nature, however, there seems to be no alternative to training line supervisors to prepare careful records that will stand up as evidence at hearings. It will be seen, then, that the second and third phases of collective bargaining are very closely allied as far as the line supervisor is concerned. While attempting to settle amicably those disputes that come to him in the first instance, he must also be preparing for the possibility that he will become both prosecutor and witness if his decision is appealed. Thus, he must act as a friendly conciliator, pouring oil on troubled waters, while preparing to present the same type of air-tight legal testimony that prosecuting attorneys and policemen present in courts of criminal law. This analogy may be startling; nevertheless, it is realistic.

THE GOVERNMENTAL SUPERVISOR

The view is widely held that the pattern of industrial collective bargaining cannot be applied to governmental employment. The issue is one that generates considerable heat and great diversity of opinion. An ex-

ploration of these issues and controversies would require time and space beyond the immediate purposes of this chapter.²⁶ The task at hand is to determine whether the behavior advocated for the line supervisor under collective bargaining is applicable to governmental supervisors. This cannot be done without stating one's own opinion as to what the situation should be.

Nature of the activity

Whether there should be collective bargaining in a given organization should be determined not upon the basis of whether it is governmentally or privately owned but by the nature of the activity itself.²⁷ Public employees on all levels of government have been at least partially organized for many decades. However, the conditions of a union shop have not usually prevailed except in isolated situations where the conditions of work approximate traditional craft unionism, as in the Government Printing Office and the building trades. White-collar employees have tended to join a multiplicity of their own organizations, usually not affiliated with the trade union movement. Thus, any attempt to inaugurate collective bargaining would be confronted with the fact that, instead of a single union, management would have to deal with several.²⁸ At least partially because of this fact, organizations of governmental employees have oper-

²⁶ Kroeger suggests that public management approaches collective bargaining in somewhat the same way that a young father approaches fatherhood, "in an attitude of joy mixed with misgiving, regarding his experience as unique, not realizing that despite the pacing and fretting, nature will take its deliberate course." See Louis J. Kroeger, "What Management Needs to Know About Approaches to Collective Negotiation," Kenneth O. Warner, ed., *Management Relations With Organized Public Employees* (Chicago: Public Personnel Association, 1963), p. 23. For additional information see: Sterling D. Spero, *Government as Employer* (New York: Remsen Press, 1948); Arvid Anderson, "Labor Relations in the Public Service," *Wisconsin Law Review*, 4:601-635, July 1961; Frederick Cohen, "Legal Aspects of Unionization Among Public Employees," *Temple Law Quarterly*, 30:187-198, Winter 1957; Wilson R. Hart, *Collective Bargaining in the Federal Service* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1961); Oscar S. Smith, "Are Public Strikes Necessary?" *Public Personnel Review*, 21:169-173, July 1960.

²⁷ This coincides with the senior author's interpretation of Leonard D. White's position in "Strikes in the Public Service," *Public Personnel Review*, 10:3-10, January 1949.

²⁸ The point has been made that many industrial firms must bargain with a multiplicity of unions, some firms having scores of separate contracts. However, the situation is somewhat different in that business firms are usually dealing with a single union for each of the functional groups, such as pharmacists, plumbers, machinists, linemen, printers, and musicians. In government, where white-collar tasks predominate, members of several employee organizations may be working in a single room, whereas many more employees may belong to none.

ated at the policy and legislative level rather than at the work level. In other words, their principal activity has been lobbying, and at this they have often been successful.

Hence, public employee organizations usually have not been organized to act as buffers in the day-to-day contacts of supervisors with workers. This situation is changing, however, with the result that the shop steward is appearing on the governmental scene. This is particularly true in areas of governmental employment where large numbers of low-salaried, unskilled workers have occupations similar to those of workers in the industrial unions. These are, as a rule, occupations that characteristically pay a subsistence wage, such as hospital attendant or janitor. In public utilities, such as electric power and urban transit, that are municipally owned, similar conditions may be found. With the unionization of white-collar and office workers spreading in the field of private employment, it seems not unreasonable to believe that the collective bargaining pattern developed there will follow into government after time lag.

Government supervisor deals with union representatives

The conclusion is that the pattern of behavior advocated earlier in this chapter for the supervisor under industrial unionism is not inapplicable to the supervisor in government. The latter will usually have to deal with union representatives from time to time, even though he is not operating in a union shop. Moreover, the civil service system has long been based upon that type of personnel jurisprudence that is becoming so characteristic of unionized industry. The governmental supervisor must be prepared to defend his actions in a public hearing in an ever-expanding area of activities. Finally, the governmental supervisor will be increasingly confronted in the years to come with the unionization of his employees. It is believed that if he follows the advice contained in this chapter, he will emerge with credit and dignity from those irritating situations that inevitably occur when the union enters an organization.

Behavior control

Seldom is a university curriculum or organization training program in management and administration devoid of the admonition that the manager has as a primary function, controlling. Controlling usually refers to the activities of the manager designed to compel events to conform to the plans that have previously been made.¹ This connotes, in a broad sense, the control of these events by a series of devices calculated to make employee behavior conform to whatever degree is required for achievement of the planned goal. As the reader is well aware, the rigid control of behavior—the requiring, for instance, of stereotyped patterns of behavior—has been under attack for some years now. A great many writers have pointed out the need for the kind of employee freedom which will give the employee “growing room,” or stated in other terms, the opportunity for self-actualization.²

Chapter 8

The admonition to so do, however, has not been accompanied by the necessary knowledge and attitudinal change, for and in those who supervise, to accomplish the transition from the more convenient method of ordering things done to the more difficult methods of stimulating subordinates to perform well. In all truthfulness, it must be realized that most individuals know more about automobiles, boats, hunting, or fishing than they do about human beings.³ If organizational behavior is to be controlled so as to neither let it run rampant nor restrict it from approaching its ultimate constructive potential, the supervisor must be given the information required.

¹ Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnel, *Principles of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1955), p. 36.

² The human personality is a developing organism and as such it seems logical to assume that it will tend to find expression for this *need* to develop.

³ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 7.

Imparting this information is, of course, not enough to achieve the kind of goal the developmental approach to supervision suggests. That information idling about, ready for instant recall upon demand during a promotional interview, is of little value. The supervisor must have the kind of self-awareness that will lead to behavioral patterns in keeping with that which the information suggests. The development plan for the supervisor should provide experiences that go far beyond opportunities for memorizing sound principles. Applicable methods used in such training efforts are discussed in Chapters 15 and 16.

UNDERSTANDING BEHAVIOR AND ITS CONTROL

Most of us react rather negatively to the control of our behavior and especially to the punitive approach to it. The reader hardly need be reminded of his negative feelings the last time he was cited for a moving traffic violation. Upon sober reflection, however, the need for certain controls in an organized society can strike one as no less than necessary. The major problem in the total society and the organizational society, it seems, has to do with obtaining the kind of flexibility that will allow maximum control for those needing it while simultaneously allowing maximum latitude for those using that latitude toward constructive ends.

Child-parent, superior-subordinate similarity

Though this comparison may seem derogatory to some, it does tend to help illustrate the difference between allowing the individual to wander about aimlessly in search of direction and on the other hand of restricting him to the point where he doesn't grow. For instance, Spock deals succinctly with the important factor of communications in discipline for the small child. He suggests that one doesn't ask the child from one to three years if he wants to "wee wee," for the natural response is an emphatic "No!"⁴ The same kind of automatic negative response to stimuli is quite likely to occur in instances where a superior is attempting to control unacceptable behavior.⁵ "Joe, don't you think you should have checked with me before signing those requisitions?" "No!" In the case of the child, Spock suggests gentle but firm action.⁶ For the case related to adult behavior control, firmness is also required. "Joe, I wanted you to. . . ."

The core point being introduced has to do with setting behavioral boundaries,⁷ which is more easily illustrated in the parent-child relationship. Discussions of restricting a child to certain overt acts are commonly

⁴ Benjamin Spock, *The Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1955), p. 253.

⁵ Unacceptable behavior in the organization is, of course, relative—the point will be discussed in Chapter 22.

⁶ Spock, *loc. cit.*

⁷ The term parameters is sometimes used.

and freely held. The *do's* and *don'ts* of a child's life are many.⁸ There are also many in the subordinate's life, and this is as it should be, up to a point. Though it is easy to agree that, theoretically, to the day of expiration, the organism needs a set of *do's* and *don'ts* for guidance, it is difficult to agree that the *do's* and *don'ts* are realistically conceived. Though parents actually tend to err in the direction of holding boundaries for behavior rigid, intellectually they can grasp the idea of moving them back to allow for growth with each successive year added to the child's chronological age.

This problem is one of behavioral control by setting limits and it is as essential in the superior-subordinate relationship as it is in the parent-child relationship. In the adult context the concept of progressively moving back the boundaries is not so broadly understood, however. In great part this is due to the belief that personality patterns are strongly solidified in the individual at some age prior to the late teens. Also, there seems to run rampant in organization an inability to understand the relationship of boundary setting to the needs of the one who must set the boundaries. All too often supervisors behave toward their subordinates as they do toward their children—in a pure stimulus-response fashion. They fail to give the employee any hint of the boundaries their own needs demand, but seldom fail to respond rather emotionally when an unknown boundary is transgressed.

Control flexibility

It would seem that control of adult behavior is part of a continuum of control beginning at infancy and continuing through life. Though progress along the continuum may well regress from time to time, the goal constantly remains the maximum self-determination allowable in the societal situation. This means that the control boundaries, ideally, should be constantly moved back, or out, as the diagram on page 110 illustrates. The illustration tends to stress social awareness, or sensitivity, in the belief that social awareness is an indispensable prerequisite to effective organizational functioning.

Influencing behavior

In recent years it has become popular to use the term *influencing behavior* rather than to stress the terms *behavior control* or *discipline*. The change probably reflects a more healthy attitude toward the supervision of personnel. It does, however, tend to neglect the extremely important issue of boundary setting and also seldom explores the dimension of motivation in the persons setting the boundaries. In examining how employees are influenced to change behavior the whole matter of motiva-

⁸ Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 270ff.

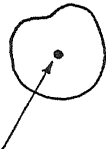
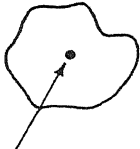
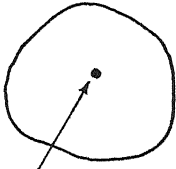
Child in family	Infancy	Some ability to relate to primary group	Ability to understand group's need to interrelate
Adult on the job	New to organizational life	Some ability to understand organizational milieu	Understanding of need for interdependence in the organization
Relative amount of freedom and self-determination	Relatively restricting and equidistant boundaries	Less regular and less restricting boundaries	Boundaries at greater distance and probably more equidistant than in second illustration
			
	Individual	Individual	Individual

Figure 2.

tion⁹ becomes unclear. "One oddity about people who seek to change others is their readiness to undertake the job without thinking much about their own objectives or their own motives."¹⁰ Thus attempts to influence behavior may be related to a basic need of the superior and may have little relationship to an organizational goal or the growth and development of the subordinate.

Behavior of subordinates can be achieved to a far greater degree when the person attempting to influence that behavior has the ability to look at his "reasons" for attempting to so influence. This does not suggest that responsibility for behaving in a responsible manner and attempting to gain greater maturity is not to be shared by the subordinate. Necessarily the responsibility for change does not lie solely with the superior who is, in this case, the changer.¹¹ Subordinates having no drive to improve, or at least achieve some acceptable degree of interdependence with others in the organization, may be considered as organizational deviates. At least they can be so considered when deciding that the organizational deviate should not be treated within the superior-subordinate relationship, but should be given the benefit of professional diagnosis.¹²

⁹ Motivation in these kinds of situations tends to be unconscious motivation; that is, the person is motivated to act without conscious recognition of that motivation.

¹⁰ Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 128.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹² There is no way of accurately measuring the strength of human motives. The supervisor should have qualified assistance for those problems he recognizes are beyond his competence.

DISCIPLINE

That employees sometimes don't do what they are told may well be the chief complaint of most companies.¹³ As a result these companies usually increase the emphasis on what is termed "discipline." Discipline tends to be judged as good when employees willingly follow the rules set by their superiors and by the company, or organization.¹⁴ One usage of the term regards it as synonymous with "morale," thus linking morale with conformity to established rules and regulations that set the norms of operation.

Behavioral control is thought to be achieved through the use of discipline, or disciplinary measures. The employment of group pressures and group standards is seldom discussed as a means of controlling behavior in the literature on supervision, though many research studies have been designed to examine these phenomena.¹⁵ The results of these researches, however, have been incorporated in many of the ideas basic to the proposed developmental approach to supervision, and it is suggested to the reader that he consider behavior control as it applies to all the chapters in this revision.

Disciplining is the job of the line supervisor

The principal responsibility for dealing with discipline as a means of behavior control should be lodged in the line supervisor at the appropriate level of immediate supervision. To carry out this responsibility adequately the supervisor needs support. He should know organizationally that it is his duty and responsibility to deal with disciplinary matters firmly, boldly, and, of course, wisely. He needs to feel secure in his own ability to carry through, and this security will not emanate from job descriptions that coldly list his responsibilities. He must be assured that his honest and competent efforts to do a good disciplining job will be backed up by his superiors at crucial moments. Moreover, he must be made to feel that should discipline enter the hearing stage, his efforts will be judged upon their merits and will not be overruled by maudlin sentimentality or legal technicality.

Questions always arise concerning the spirit, extent, or degree of enforcement that brings the optimum return. Should discipline be strict and severe, or tolerant and easy going? The answer will not be found by locat-

¹³ Michael J. Jucius, *Personnel Management* (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959), p. 514.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ For a partial sampling of studies related to these phenomena, see Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962); A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta and Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955).

ing the optimum point between strict and easy, but rather in the fundamental nature of the social organization, which the supervisor must understand as part of his disciplining duties. If the basic mores of an organization are developed in a manner that commands the respect and conformance of its members, disciplining should offer no special problems. The rank and file member will observe the mores either automatically or because of the pressures exerted to do so by other members of the group. That is, he probably will if he has a feeling of belonging and thus recognizes that to belong requires a contribution in accordance with his means and talents. Thus, in essence, the supervisor's attempts to discipline must see discipline as a means, not of immediately stopping an undesirable behavior only, but of reaching a goal of desirable citizenship.

Laxness versus strictness

Actually, the members of the social group which the organization comprises will resent the failure of the supervisor to live up to his disciplining responsibilities. Employees do not like supervisors who curry their favor by being lax in the enforcement of rules and regulations. There may be a happy medium between undue laxity and excessive severity, but it is not to be found on the side of promiscuous failure to abide by the rules of the game. Those people-minded individuals who are motivated to enter personnel management in the belief that it offers an opportunity to relieve the suffering of the oppressed working people must learn to be realistic as well as altruistic.

Discipline is by nature both social and individual. It is social in that its quality must depend on the social attitudes of the informal organization as well as upon the logic of management. It is also individualistic in philosophy and clinical in method because it deals with human feelings. Hence the approach to discipline is through both the individual and the group; not within the framework of a typical social agency approach, however, but in a management environment in which the latter will call the shots. To say that a balance in disciplining, through good group work and good case work, cannot be accomplished would be to despair of ever producing a desirable way of life under large-scale organization.

Supervisor's power to discipline

"There can be no specific rules of supervision which will work well in all situations."¹⁶ Thus the answer to supplying the lagging power of supervisors in modern large-scale organizations is not to give them a supply of specific rules through which to take disciplinary action. Though the power to impose severe penalties such as dismissal, transfer, and suspension,

¹⁶ Rensis Likert, *New Patterns in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 95.

should be lodged in a relatively high level of supervision, the immediate supervisor must be supported in his recommendations that these penalties be levied. His basis for making these recommendations and in levying lesser penalties must not be restricted by rules tying specific behavioral deviation to specific penalties.

The supervisor can best act in disciplinary matters when he can adhere to a process of democratic discipline exercised in an atmosphere of approval. Social confirmation is always stronger and better enforced when it springs from the sentiments and feelings of the group itself. This does not necessarily mean that the rules, regulations, and actions of an organization must be legislated by a worker group, although just this thing may be developing with the tendency to enlarge the scope and volume of collective bargaining contracts. It does mean however that the importance of the power toward constructive involvement of the work group, and the supervisors delegated power to work problems out with the work group, must be recognized. Particularly important is management's support of the supervisor's action within his delegated area of freedom—that area within which he is seen to have power to act.

Responsibility delegated to lower supervision

The preponderance of disciplinary interviews should be handled by the lower supervisors themselves, and their general approach should be that of the nondirective interview. However, it is doubtful that management will ever extend happy tolerance to a supervisor's devoting much time to long counseling interviews, nor will the main run of supervisors be inclined to perform according to such a pattern. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it would be desirable to encourage them to do so, because there is some reaction even among clinicians against excessive probing into "private" affairs. There is an optimum factual situation that can be revealed sooner than was thought possible, however. The supervisor does not need to take over all the techniques of clinical psychology and social work to so operate. It becomes a matter of training the supervisor, not to be a clinician, but to behave in a manner, toward his subordinates, which will cause the same constructive responses as the behavior of the clinician often does.

Though this suggested behavior for the supervisor should improve his ability to supervise, it is not suggested that he can be relieved of making unpopular decisions. Above all, the quality most needed by a supervisor is that of being able to make decisions when they are required. In no instance should he avoid a required decision on the rationalization that he could not get a subordinate or a group of subordinates to agree. In making such decisions, especially when they relate to disciplinary action, it is especially important that they be made within a nonjudgmental atmosphere.

Getting, recording and interpreting facts

Every disciplinary action must be bolstered by possession of all possible facts, though we of course realize that what is and what is not fact is relative. It may seem that fact collecting is a matter related to red tape only, but there seems to be no choice in the matter. Regrettable as it may seem to those who would see disciplinary matters confined within the superior-subordinate relationship, most of the significant happenings¹⁷ in an employee's work life in the large organization should find their way into his personnel folder. The recording of these matters, other than the difficulty in getting supervisors to commit themselves in writing, is the least difficult part of the record keeping process. It is the interpretation of past happenings which, if not "professionally" accomplished, can lead to great difficulty.

Interpretation of employee records is influenced by social context, and thus must be judged in that context. What is the opinion of fellow workers and other supervisors about the facts gathered? Could consensus, of those concerned with the matter, be obtained? Is the structure of facts so strong that the respect of the social organization will be forthcoming, even though the decision may run contrary to its sympathies and sentiments?¹⁸ And what about the personal feelings of the person or persons who are called upon to interpret the facts in the personnel folder? Do certain acts become repugnant to the interpreter because of an earlier happening of traumatic proportions which has long lain in the subconscious? All too often past behavior of an employee lingers on to haunt him all of his days, despite the fact that the behavior in question might have been stimulated by an aggravating set of circumstances which the organization failed to take action to cure.

Personnel record keeping should not become entirely a negative procedure in the perception of employees. Good performance as well as "bad" should be recorded, especially that performance which tends to show improvement in an area related to a previous disciplinary action. Though competitive business enterprise has been traditionally reluctant to build up staff services that cannot demonstrate in some way that they are paying for themselves, there is evidence of a growing social consciousness which has led, in many cases, to adding clinical specialists to personnel staffs. As it becomes increasingly realized that good supervision and employee relations can come only through devoting constant atten-

¹⁷ Happenings which have become necessary for substantiation of disciplinary action, health history, educational history, accident records, etc., should be recorded.

¹⁸ F. Alexander Magoun, "Principles of Disciplining," *Personnel*, 22:160-70, November 1945.

tion to human problems, there will be greater willingness to accept specialists in these problems.

THE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

The grievance procedure is, in many respects, the heart of personnel management in unionized industry. It has been referred to as "the daily adjustment of individual rights"¹⁹ as well as "a continuous process of problem solving."²⁰ Those matters that have formed the basis for grievances over the years have been written into the collective bargaining contract, accumulating until that document has become exceedingly fat with detail. The more aggressive unions have desired a part in normal grievance procedure and have organized themselves at the work level in order to facilitate their intimate participation therein.

In public organizations, the grievance procedure is less an integral part of formalized personnel procedures. It is, however, getting a great deal of increasing attention as is the general trend of some kind of recognition of employee groups as bargaining agents. At the moment however, the grievance procedure in public organizations is still not of the import it is in the private sector. In fact, the arbitration of unadjusted grievances is seldom used, though there are a few adjustment mechanisms as that in the Tennessee Valley Authority which provides adjustment through an impartial referee chosen from a panel of impartial referees.²¹

What are grievances?

The great preponderance of grievances can be classified under the heading of problems of job evaluation, which is another way of saying that they are related to compensation and pay. Closely associated with questions that are patently of a job evaluation nature are a set of grievances that usually bother employees as a class rather than as individuals and which can be settled upon the basis of setting standard policies. Examples are the allotment of overtime assignments, the allocation of vacation periods, and the assignment of shifts. There is a tendency on the part of both union officials and supervisors to dodge unpleasant grievance situations by resorting to precedent and rule. That is why the bargaining contract and the rule book grow even fatter.²²

¹⁹ Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross, eds., *Industrial Conflict* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1954), p. 280.

²⁰ Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953), p. 22.

²¹ Louis J. Van Mol, *Effective Procedures for the Handling of Employee Grievances*, Personnel Report Series No. 351 (Chicago: Public Personnel Association, 1961), p. 23.

²² Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

There is a grievance area where causes are inexplicit and undefined. The problem is extremely complex, and any remarks or generalizations about it would constitute only partial truth. In part of this area, management is at least somewhat responsible for the grievance, and in the remaining area, responsible only to a minor extent. Where management leadership has been indifferent to the human factor over long periods of time, a number of psychic grievances can arise even in a situation where pay and physical working conditions are above average. In these situations, even the persons regarded as superior performers may have built up within themselves wells of the bile of resentment. This is the area in which many minor matters could have been explained by simple communication from management. When they were not, these minor matters have become magnified in the minds of individual employees until they have reached the proportions of enormous grievances.

The grievance area most difficult to deal with has to do with the mental meanderings of people who may fall into two categories: first, people who are normally adjusted to life but are undergoing personal difficulties that interfere with their adjustment to work; and second, people who are not normally adjusted to life and who constitute the problem cases referred to in other chapters. This is obviously an oversimplification because investigation has indicated this problem to be exceedingly complex.

The union and grievances

The more aggressive type of union desires to enter into grievance situations in order to seem to be accomplishing something worthwhile for the individual membership. This is especially true in plants and industries where the relationship between management and unions can be characterized as an armed truce. The union generally does not want management to get too close to the workers whose sentiments of loyalty it wants attached to the union rather than to management.

These observations should explain at least partially the reasons why grievance procedure in unionized industry tends to become a three-way negotiation among union representatives, company persons from a fairly high level of the hierarchy, and personnel men. The setting is informal, dynamic, and often very tense. Nerves may be so taut that a handful of workers will strike unlawfully, closing down a factory employing tens of thousands. This is another factor leading to many of the suggestions, in this revision, asking for a reexamination of the potential organizational influence of the superior-subordinate relationship.

Practice differs in public administration

Though many governmental personnel systems have a formal grievance system on paper, public administration has not yet developed a griev-

ance pattern as rigorous as that found in industry. The assumption has been that civil service has furnished the public employee protections, benefits, and advantages superior to those enjoyed by people doing similar work in private employment. Moreover, public employees have not generally been unionized into a single employee organization that could speak for all. Indeed, it is probable that in most governmental establishments of the past, any employee who would presume to act as a shop steward would find himself regarded by management as a presumptuous trouble maker. As of this writing, however, many managers in public administration and many legislative bodies are watching with interest new emerging patterns of labor relations in the public sector.

Objective examination should be directed toward the assumption that civil service law automatically gives employees more protection and advantages and presumably more work satisfaction than they would obtain doing similar work elsewhere.²³ Personnel practices in industry have become so improved and humanized in the last quarter century that the alleged advantages under civil service may in many instances have been entirely eliminated, and there may even be cases of a deficit against governmental employment. But what does this have to do with the grievance procedure?

The orthodox tenets of civil service religion run to the effect that the employee is given job status and security by law and is afforded a maximum of legal protection in the enjoyment of that status. The spontaneous and automatic result should be that the employee is happy, contented, and therefore has no grievances. To be sure, there may be minor job dissatisfactions that he can take up with his supervisor. If they become highly aggravated, he can even appeal them to a civil service commission or through a formalized grievance procedure. But the stereotype of civil service management usually runs to the effect that he has no reason to make himself troublesome. He has job security, so what else does he want? The fact remains, however, that even under a system of legal job security employees do become bothered about many things.

Arbitration becoming important

Collective bargaining contracts frequently provide for arbitration of grievances that cannot be settled by negotiation, and arbitration procedure tends to become quasi-judicial in nature, as was discussed in the previous chapter. As a matter of fact, this is becoming an area of controversy between lawyers engaging in labor practice and management consultants not legally trained. There have been some attempts on the

²³ It should not be overlooked that another factor in holding out against bargaining rights for public employees has to do with the fairly common feelings in our society that they are "second class" citizens. See Clarence B. Randall, "Patriotism by Invective," *Think*, July-August 1962.

part of attorneys to secure the enactment of laws excluding those who are not legally trained from at least certain phases of labor practice. On the other hand, there are those who deplore what they believe to be a corruption of the original intention of the arbitration process by making it conform to the lawyers' concept of trial procedure with its atmosphere of contentiousness. They say that arbitration procedure should not be judicial in nature but should be informal and conciliatory rather than formal and judgmental.

The increasingly judicial nature of personnel administration has influenced the role of supervisor by requiring that he be prepared to furnish substantial proof to justify his actions involving the personal fortunes and destinies of employees. This means that he must become a keeper of the type of records that will refresh his memory and serve as proof when he may be called upon to defend his actions before a higher supervisor, the personnel director, a grievance committee, an arbitrator, or a civil service commission.

THE HEARING

The new personnel jurisprudence is gradually emerging as a pattern with semijudicial procedure and a definitely legalistic aspect. The great labor statutes and collective bargaining agreements, together with civil service rules and regulations, have established a set of basic personal rights and liberties and a procedure akin to due process of law in the management realm. The chief effect of this development upon supervision is to deprive the supervisor of any powers that he may once have had to deal arbitrarily with employees.

The story is told about a proprietor of a restaurant of many years' standing who was talking to a friend when they both heard the loud crash of a tray of dishes. The restaurateur said to his friend: "Formerly, I would have fired him on the spot, but now I ask him if he was hurt." There are those who deplore this eventuality and regard it as a crippling blow at management's inherent and vital prerogatives. Some would say that it is impossible to maintain discipline under a regime wherein an erring employee has the right of an independent hearing.

The attitude taken here is that one must be realistic and accept the fact that the judicial phase of personnel management is here to stay. Even those who deplore the passing of the olden days of unfettered management prerogative must accept the facts as they are. However, it is our contention that there is a much more optimistic, constructive, and creative approach, characterized by training the lower supervisors to use the clinical procedures described in other chapters. This should accomplish two purposes: first, it will settle the maximum number of disputes at the working level, as should be the case; and, second, it will encourage the type

of fact-finding and record-keeping that will present the supervisor's case most favorably in the few instances when issues reach the stage of the hearing.

Legal type of proof required

These hearings tend to follow the pattern of procedure observed by administrative tribunals, which, in fact, they are, particularly if they should happen to be workmen's compensation commissions, national or state labor relations boards, or civil service commissions. Although such tribunals do not follow procedure of courts of law in technical detail, they demand a similar type of proof. If an employee is alleged to have erred, the specific facts of dereliction must be established by the testimony of eyewitnesses and by the written record. The lower line supervisors, as well as the functional supervisors, inevitably become the star witnesses. Frequently their role is not dissimilar to that of the complaining witness.

The result of this situation is that progressive personnel management requires the supervisor to be an objective record-keeper. He must be prepared to show by record that Joe Doakes was late to work on particular days and that he was warned on particular occasions, or that Mary Jones had been counseled relative to insufficient production and poor spelling in her typing job. The supervisor must also secure the testimony of others, sometimes several weeks or months after the event.

Employees are often reluctant to testify against the interests of a fellow worker, with the result that the supervisor must keep records to refresh his memory as to who was present on a particular occasion and who witnessed specific instances of dereliction. Unless the proper record is built, one that identifies people with places, situations, and dates, time will disintegrate the memories of participants, and they will be content to avoid the emotion-packed controversy of the hearing.

Pressure upon the supervisor

A wide variety of personnel actions reach the hearing stage, but a typical example is the dismissal hearing involving organizations in which legal job security exists. There is probably no personnel action that distinguishes the successful executive from the weak executive more clearly than the manner in which he faces up to the necessity of separating someone from his job. Organization is dynamic in competitive industry, people in the top echelons constantly being replaced because of failure to meet the exacting demands of their jobs.

Under job security systems such as civil service and in some unionized industries, the complaint is made that management efficiency suffers because of the difficulty in establishing the normal movement of people required by a healthy organization. It is said that people who fail are

frozen in their jobs. It is our contention that this is not necessarily and inevitably so, that supervisors can be trained and the organization conditioned to separate people from their jobs with comparative ease if the good of the organization demands it.

What are some of the pressures that tend to make dismissal difficult? There is the general reluctance of people to face up to the unpleasantness that is involved. The result is that dismissals are delayed long after the time when action should have been taken. The higher supervisor who must usually take the brunt of dismissal action must undergo an emotional reaction that may lead to insomnia, high blood pressure, and ulcers. Every eye in the organization is focused on him; at any rate, he feels that this is so if he has normal sensitiveness. Moreover, the tendency of the group to sympathize with the underdog prevails, even though the underdog may be at fault. That is why people develop reserve and coolness in their contacts as they rise to positions of higher authority in an organization.

Dismissal hearings

The atmosphere of a dismissal hearing is supercharged with emotion. Many supervisors refrain from bringing dismissal charges because of past experiences when they have felt that they have been on trial rather than the employee they seek to dismiss. The employee is frequently represented by an attorney who attempts to establish that the supervisor was biased, prejudiced, and himself guilty of wrongful acts.

Such hearings are conducted on a semijudicial basis in which there are sworn witnesses both on the side seeking to prove dismissal charges and on the side of the employee. Because of the very nature of the matter under consideration, these witnesses are supervisors and workers, members of both the formal or informal organization where the alleged misdeeds were committed. As these people gather in the same room, sentiments and resentments surge within them in accordance with the predispositions of each.

The social atmosphere is tense, emotion-packed, dynamic, and potentially explosive. While the attorneys and referees will attempt to adhere in some elementary manner to the jury trial rules of evidence, the testimony will nevertheless come out in the form of narrative statements. There will be accusation and cross-accusation, aggressiveness and diffidence, objectivity and passion. The net results will be an emotional experience that no one will ever seek to repeat if it can possibly be avoided.

Presenting the supervisor's case

It will usually be necessary during a hearing to prove that specific acts of wrongdoing or dereliction of duty actually occurred at particular times

and at stated places and were witnessed by persons other than the supervisor bringing the charges. For instance, it will not be sufficient merely to say that the employee was drunk on duty at 5:45 p.m., February 23, of a particular year. Furthermore, in order to secure dismissal it will ordinarily be necessary to show that this was habitual and that separation from the service is a last-straw step, taken reluctantly after a series of similar events, specific cases and deeds, all of which have been listed and verified by witnesses. Here is where a supervisor's diary record is of primary importance, because it will refresh the supervisor's memory relative to these occurrences and the persons present.

This reemphasizes the tremendous importance of following and keeping records as the basis for proof. Ordinarily the case against the employee must be overwhelming when it is being tried before a civil service commission made up of laymen. There is a tendency for a certain type of laymen appointed to civil service commissions to display sentimentalism that prevents them from affirming a dismissal except in cases where the evidence is overwhelming against the employee. The grapevine reports throughout the hierarchy that it is no use dismissing anyone because the commission will always reinstate him regardless of the seriousness of the offense. The result is that no outright dismissals are brought and cases involving severe discipline matters are handled by disciplinary transfer, negotiated resignation, and other subterfuges. The general morale of the service suffers because the infected members of the organization remain to infect others instead of being severed by skillful surgery.

The foregoing characterization of the attitudes of some civil service commissioners toward dismissal hearings should at least partially exonerate the lawyers from the current tendency to legalize personnel administration. The fact is that lay commissioners seek intuitively the same kind of proof that court procedure has evolved slowly throughout the ages. It must be specific, it must relate to actual incidents, it must be corroborated by eye witnesses among whom are those without a personal interest in the matter, and it must be substantiated, insofar as is possible, by documentary records.

It is also necessary for the supervisor to show in the first place that he attempted to take some remedial steps, that he apprised the erring employee of his shortcomings at some date considerably prior to the actual incident that precipitated dismissal.

Some employers, in an effort to influence supervisors to refrain from acting while in a fit of momentary anger, have prepared special forms, sometimes referred to as "notice of unsatisfactory performance." The form should be filled out by the supervisor in the presence of the offending employee. There is a space for stating in specific terms just what happened and what warning was given to the employee. There are places for the signatures of both the supervisor and the employee. The latter's signa-

ture is usually accompanied by a printed statement to the effect that such signature does not necessarily constitute an admission of the truth of the charges but merely acknowledges that the supervisor said these things in the presence of the employee at that particular time. In case the employee refuses to sign, there is usually some other witness to the interview, such as a functional supervisor who attests to the fact that the interview was held and that the employee was warned.

Usually the dismissal does not occur at the time of this original warning but waits for a second offense, and at this time the employee may be suspended pending hearing on dismissal. A notice of dismissal will be sent by registered mail with a return card that may be offered in the hearing as evidence that the employee actually received notice of suspension or dismissal, as the case may be. The notice of dismissal informs the employee of his right to a hearing, provided that he makes formal application within a certain number of days. The hearing usually takes place rather promptly, practically always within the first month after notice of dismissal.

Dismissal hearings are open to the public and their proceedings become a matter of public record. The testimony is recorded verbatim, either by a stenographer or a mechanical recording device, and typewritten transcriptions may be prepared. There is now a tendency toward having the testimony taken by referees, as is generally done by administrative tribunals. The proper role of the referee in taking testimony has been so well developed and defined in the procedure of administrative tribunals in general that their employment probably will not jeopardize the substantial rights of employees. The referee merely hears the evidence, admits and refuses testimony, and presents a summary. The lay commissioners are usually expected by law to have read all the testimony before rendering their final decision.

INTERNAL CHECKS

The word *control* has come to be associated with the flow of information about the current status of operations and production. However, controls on organizational processes are necessarily controls on the people involved in those processes. Therefore the so-called *feedback* involved is from the *doer* who actually performs the work, to the *receiver* who directs or supervises the work. Wiener²⁴ has compared the management organism to the human or animal body, the brain being the control center. If the stomach says, "I need more blood," the brain has not delivered. The corresponding situation in management exists when up-to-the-minute performance data are constantly sent to the control center, where corrective action can be taken, either by the volition of a human being who issues

a corrective order or in automation by an electronic cell which stops the machine, takes corrective action, and starts it again.

Internal checks actually constitute feedback as applied to the factor of human error and are part of the system through which human behavior is controlled. They seek to prevent error in the first place, but if error takes place, internal checks are designed to detect the error before serious harm is done.

Resistance to checking

Some resistance to internal checks may be expected, but this can normally be overcome, to an optimum degree, if communication has taken place. Furthermore, employees seem to accept checking when it is applied to all alike and if it becomes a regular phase of operating procedure rather than being applied to suspected individuals alone.

The attitude toward controls and internal checks will depend upon what the organization is accustomed to. In general, if laxity toward the enforcement of regulations prevails, a sudden attempt to become stricter will meet with resistance. This was the situation in a gypsum mill and mine.²⁵

The old management had been lax and lenient, allowing an "indulgency pattern" to grow up. Tardiness went unnoticed; workers were permitted to wander off the job without accounting for their time; men set their own work pace, and pressure for production was unknown. There was no attempt to "load" jobs in order to require the full time of workers, who therefore had free time which they regarded as their own to use as they pleased. The taking of company property for private use was not only tolerated but regarded as a job perquisite.

The top management of the company, located elsewhere, sought to change the situation when a new manager was sent in from the outside. Among the measures taken to break the indulgency pattern were daily and weekly reports from supervisors on production results, accidents, and breakdowns. Restrictions were placed on freedom of movement, talking, and horseplay. Disciplinary measures were formalized by the production of a written warning notice.

The point to be emphasized in this connection is that many of the measures taken are standard practice in well-run organizations. They were resisted in this case because they constituted an attempt from the outside to change overnight the socially approved behavior.

Checking and honesty

Operations involving the handling of money or access to merchandise and supplies are always subjected to a variety of running checks. If

²⁵ Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1954).

they were not, the losses would perhaps be greater than the percentage of profit. It may come as a shock to people-minded persons that dishonesty is an almost universal phenomenon.²⁶ People in the business world have always known this, and those enterprises that have continued to operate have taken steps to control temptation. It is interesting to note that sociological research has recognized this problem and has given experimental validity to the experiences and hunches of the businessman.²⁷

It should be emphasized that the taking of money or goods by a worker from his employer is not confined to persons of the criminal class. Indeed, the study just mentioned found that most of the offenders were unmarried girls from sixteen to nineteen years of age, in many cases from good homes.²⁸ It should be emphasized that internal checks are not designed primarily to thwart a handful of habitual thieves who elude the personnel department at the employment portals, but to help respectable, God-fearing, normal citizens of the community to resist temptation.²⁹ Furthermore, the stealing of cash and merchandise is not a product of dire need, poverty, and subsistence wages.³⁰ It is due, among other things, to the desire for luxuries, the need to keep up with one's neighbors, an absence of frugality in other members of the family, or to gambling. A part of the problem is our inaccurate definition of the word "theft." Many people who swear that they "have never stolen anything" will readily admit taking hotel stationery. Employees feel that they have free access to small items and services. They may take their cues from bosses who have no qualms about using company property or asking subordinates to do personal jobs on company time.

The best approach to the dishonesty problem is to recognize it quite frankly and approach it from the standpoint that in business there are dishonest situations rather than dishonest people. Even though the concept has no validity, it has value from the standpoint of internal morale and public relations.

Workers should be told quite frankly that their work is being checked; that business establishments find this is necessary because there are always people who will take advantage of laxity. It should be said that in-

²⁶ Two studies in this area are: Donald R. Cressey, *Other People's Money* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1953); National Industrial Conference Board, "Industrial Theft Control: A Survey of Company Practices," *The Management Review*, 44:249-50, April 1955.

²⁷ Duncan Grant Morrison, "Dishonesty Among Store Clerks," *Sociology and Social Research*, 33:25-32, September-October 1948.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁹ The senior author's early experience in the marketing of petroleum products and years of intimate contacts with municipal officials have verified this. Pilfering tank-wagon agents and absconding city treasurers have usually been persons without criminal records, often with quite responsible family connections.

³⁰ Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

ternal checks are operated constantly and with impartiality, being directed at situations rather than at individuals. Furthermore, employees can be told that because checks provide proof of honesty as well as of transgression, they are for everyone's protection. The types of internal checks to control dishonesty are manifold and vary with the situation and task; however, they have several things in common.

In the first place, the universal management principle of undivided responsibility must prevail. There must be some one person who can be held accountable for property and money.

Second, there must be a record that cannot be altered. This usually takes the form of an original copy with a series of carbon duplicates, all bearing the identical serial number, so that if one is altered or lost the others remain as originally prepared. The system usually provides that these carbon copies go to different places and offices, so that tampering would require their interception along several different routes. Thus, copies of a department store sales slip go to the credit department, the statistical department, the customer, and perhaps to others. A traffic officer's citation book has carbon copies for the city comptroller, the traffic court, and police headquarters. In each of these instances, a copy also remains in the books of the sales clerk and the officer.

The third universal phase of internal checks is that of constant auditing by someone who is organizationally independent of the operator. The term *audit* here is used not only in the sense applying to accounting but also to a wide variety of double checking. Thus, it is common practice that the person paying out or receiving money shall not be the one who determines the amount. For instance, the applicant for a business license applies at one window where the receipt form is made out and sent by pneumatic tube to the cashier's window. There the applicant presents his stub, pays his bill, and receives his license. This double checking goes on constantly and periodically in all establishments handling cash and property. Thus, the totals on the cash register tape must correspond with the contents of the cash drawer. The contents of underground gasoline tanks must balance out with the sales as recorded mechanically by the pumps.³¹ In order to maintain the system of double checks, some organizations have found it desirable to break up collusion by periodically transferring or rotating individuals who have to check on one another.

Paper check on work load

The foremost truism about paper checking devices that are used by supervisors to check on the work that is being carried on is that people

³¹ For an interesting report of the attempt of an oil company to help fleet truck operators account for the cost of operating their long haul rigs, and to thwart any dishonesty, see James Joseph, "Truck Stops Turn Cost Accountants," *Western Trucking*, 42:30-35, 66, July 1963.

don't like them, at least in the beginning. People do not generally like being checked upon and they are apt to rebel against preparing a record that may constitute a report of mediocrity or failure. Neither do most employees like to make out reports, nor do they write easily.³² Actually those who wish to place on written record the continuous record of results face the disheartening task of overcoming mass inertia.

However all successful organizations have found it necessary to make records of accomplishment, to be used for the purposes of supervision and control. These records usually take the form of a statistical report based upon original records made out at the production levels and passed on up the supervisory hierarchy. In merchandising, the sales slip is almost universal as an example of this basic record. Production reports, mileage records, reports of arrest and investigation, and reports of school attendance are other examples. These basic data are summarized for the purpose of supervisory and management control.

LET THE PUNISHMENT FIT THE CRIME

There are other methods for checking and control in organization, such as checking against *scheduling* and control through *inspection*, but in discussing the developmental approach to supervision, it is less important to discuss these familiar matters. All in all, the supervisor often finds himself in an untenable psychological situation, which may not be improved through understanding of the grievance procedure, the hearing, or the use of scheduling. He will probably be helped by taking to heart Wolf's admonition that the supervisor must be oriented toward understanding human nature.³³ However, to understand human nature and to understand one's self toward more effective interpersonal relations is a rather complicated matter. Certainly in the area of behavior control, complexity abounds, and certainly man has not resolved the question of the entanglement of the need to punish, and to be punished, in that which motivates him.

In the Old Testament it is written that, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man, shall his blood be shed." Equivalence in punishment very plainly appears in disciplinary guides; three days' suspension for one day AWOL, dismissal for being inebriated on the job, etc. Are our attempts to control behavior motivated by a desire for, perhaps, maximization of profit, or by a human urge to retaliate? Do we punish out of conviction that the punishment will bring about a desirable change in behavior, or are we bent on making the punishment fit the crime?

³² In some present day highly automated plants, actual writing is reduced to a minimum. A "mark sense" data card, for example, may be substituted and fed into a central record keeping unit automatically.

³³ William B. Wolf, *The Management of Personnel* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1961), p. 320.

For the bureaucracy to operate efficiently, it must attain a high degree of reliable behavior and conformity with prescribed patterns of action.³⁴ And so perhaps we punish to force conformity to prescribed behavioral patterns, no matter how ill conceived the required patterns may be, and despite the fact that the punishment may only serve as an extra weight to help hold down the lid of a boiling cauldron. Whatever the case there is a new and growing emphasis on making discipline constructive. Typical of this emphasis is the suggestion that discipline should be thought of as constructive rather than destructive, and both the employee being disciplined and the supervisor taking the action should profit from the experience.³⁵

To be disciplined, it cannot be denied, is to be punished, and reward and punishment are commonly used as aids to behavioral control. Rewards such as praise are thought of as the fuel that motivates and stimulates people. Punishment is thought of as a negative stimulus ultimately leading to positive motivation. The fact is that control of behavior is accomplished by a system of reward and punishment, no matter what title the process is given. The supervisor uses this time honored system, all too often, with little knowledge of its limitations and its consequences. As a start toward better understanding of this part of his approach to supervision, he might well give some thought to his need to let the punishment fit the crime.

³⁴ Amitai Etzioni, *Complex Organizations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 52.

³⁵ Dartnell Supervisory Booklets, *What a Supervisor Should Know About Constructive Discipline* (Chicago: The Dartnell Press, 1962), p. 7.

The supervisor as change agent

Chapter 9

The culture trait which perhaps most distinctively characterizes American life in the second half of the twentieth century is the acceptance of dynamic change, not only as an inevitable fact of life, but as a desirable phenomenon to be striven for. Thus there has come into the vocabulary and conceptual scheme of the social sciences, a new set of terms and ideas usually grouped under the descriptive of *planned change*. The paraphernalia of planned change usually embody two principal components: the *change agent* and the *client system*.¹ The change agent is the catalyst who attempts to bring about the change, and in our case the principal change agent is the supervisor, although it would perhaps be more accurate to refer to the supervisory members of the hierarchy collectively as the change agent, with the top man as the crucial link.

A client system is the entity which is to undergo planned change and it exists on four levels:

1. the individuals
2. the face-to-face group
3. the organization
4. the community

It will readily be seen that while the organization becomes the chief focus, nevertheless the other three are parties to most planned change. Thus the clinical approach to supervision advocated throughout this book is directed mainly toward the individual, because he must change both his attitudes and behavior in many respects if he is to adapt to the dynamics

¹ Ronald Lippett, Jean Watson, and Bruce Wesley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1958); Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Bruce, and Robert Chin, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961).

of change and to organization needs.² But individuals are members of groups and it is often the intimate face-to-face groups which constitute the greatest barrier to adoption of changes desired by management.³ The organization is probably the central client system for our purposes, and to bring about change in the organization perhaps the most important factor is the belief and dedication to change on the part of the top man himself. But the organization cannot separate itself from the community in which it exists with the result that to be effective, change must often utilize community involvement.

AREAS OF CHANGE

The principal areas of change with which the supervisor is charged are three: (1) the patterns of organizational behavior, (2) systems, and (3) the work methods of individuals involving the loss of old skills and the acquisition of new. While these are all very important, we are, in this book, mainly concerned with the behavioral patterns of supervisors and the change that seems to be taking place in the behavioral requirements of supervision.

Chapter 5 postulated an interaction theory of organization based upon dynamic concepts of the job—an interaction theory of job relationships. Chapter 10, which follows the present one, poses the problem of superior-subordinate relationships and proceeds upon the proposition that the normal influence of hierarchy is to inhibit interaction between superior and subordinate. Chapter 11 continues this theme in its discussion of the problem of communication as primarily concerned with the mutual interaction of individuals as linkages in feedback loops, mutually interacting with each other through messages which have a reciprocal effect.

This all adds up to a concept of organizational behavior which requires change from the traditional ways of men as they have lived their lives in the workaday world. The problem has been posed, with suggested remedies, in the study by Ginzberg and Reilley⁴ entitled *Effective Change in Large Organizations*, which deals primarily with the problems exhibited in the behavior of executives in changing from a highly centralized operation to decentralized arrangements. The tremendous growth of organizations during and after World War II has necessitated the development of a new type of manager whose behavior is characterized by

² A more detailed discussion of individual and organization needs will take place in Chapter 20.

³ A. Zaleznik, C. R. Christensen, and F. J. Roethlisberger, *The Motivation, Productivity, and Satisfaction of Workers* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1958).

⁴ Eli Ginzberg and Ewing W. Reilley, *Effecting Change in Large Organizations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

planning, delegation, mutual feedback communication, working consultation and listening, and developmental coaching.

Change in the executive

The key executives in the new approach to organizational behavior will alter their patterns of interaction away from driving, order-giving, and unilateral decision-making toward models of interaction characterized by planning, policy deliberation, and evaluation of results. They will have lost much of the "trappings of power" which appertained to the executive role in the past, and will find it necessary to avoid the reflexes of command in favor of the arts of persuasion. Thinking, discussion and consultation with members of the staff, on a peer basis, will occupy much of executive time. Ginzberg and Reilley point out that such a metamorphosis will be difficult for the production manager who "may never have been much of a thinker, a long range planner . . . moreover, diplomacy, persuasion, cajolery may not have been his strong points."⁵ Now, instead of originating action by command he must find ways of stimulating subordinates to take the initiative themselves while he listens and acts as friendly counselor and intermediary.

Ginzberg and Reilley insist that the success of change depends not on the design of the plan, but on "the ability of the president and his senior executives to alter their behavior in accordance with the new principles which the plan seeks to realize."⁶ That is why the key factor in bringing about organization change is leadership at the top. But the other factors involved include the effect of change on the individual, the normal apprehension of job loss, the social climate at the face-to-face group level, the effective use of communication, and the degree of involvement or participation. A peripheral obstacle to effective decentralization is the unwillingness of men to relinquish authority.

Change in the supervisor

Unwillingness to relinquish authority on the part of those at the higher hierarchical levels will, of course, make it difficult to bring about change in behavior at the several levels of supervision. There not being a relinquishing of authority to the supervisor does not, however, grant him license to become apathetic to the problems of change. Seldom is there an instance in which a lower supervisor could not effect change in some area of his job, despite the failure of his own superior to specifically delineate such an area.

True, it has been found that supervisors who, as the result of training, have accepted the ideology of a "human relations" type of leadership have

⁵ Ginzberg and Reilley, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

been frustrated in their attempts to practice it on their return to the job because their own superiors would not permit them to so behave. Moreover, their subordinates sometimes reacted negatively because the new behavior varied so greatly from expected behavior.⁷ This only substantiates the fact that change, though necessary, is difficult. The supervisors between the executive and rank-and-file levels have a difficult position to maintain, and a difficult self-development task to perform as they deal with dynamic change from their "middleman" position.

This circumstance, at least in part, suggests that of all members of the organization, the supervisor may be in the best position to be an effective change agent. He will not only have the opportunity to convince his superiors of needed change, but also will have the opportunity to create the atmosphere in which change will not be so difficult for his subordinates. The most pertinent change, it would seem, for the supervisor is an increase in his social awareness—a deeper understanding of the cultural and behavioral forces at play within his own job sphere. He must realize that there is a difference between understanding certain values and internalizing them to make them a part of his own personal values. Internalizing is a term sometimes used by behavioral scientists to indicate a belief that the idea for change came from those affected by it.⁸

FACTORS RELATING TO CHANGE IN THE SUPERVISORY ROLE

To understand the change agent role is but the first step to becoming, in fact, an agent for change. The supervisor, except in rare instances, will be able to accomplish the attitudinal changes—and of course the behavioral changes—with help. Ideally that help would come through his supervisors' competent efforts at clinical supervision in which many of the approaches to training discussed in chapters 15 and 16 are employed. However, if so motivated by his own needs and desires, he might make great development strides of his own volition. In either case, he will have to give deep and searching thought to the several factors involved.

Morality and ethics

The study of administration will perhaps never be fully respectable as an academic discipline because it tends to be regarded with suspicion by persons with a humanistic bent, for by its very nature it must utilize manipulation. There is an issue raised by social scientists among whom anthropologists seem to have been the most vocal.⁹ It has to do with the

⁷ Norman R. F. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952), p. 16.

⁸ Paul C. Agnew and Francis L. K. Hsu, "Introducing Change in a Mental Hospital," *Human Organization*, 19:195-98, Winter 1960-61.

⁹ See symposium on values in *Human Organization*, 17:2-26, Spring 1958.

moral and ethical aspects—whether the manager or supervisor has a moral right to manipulate others by trying to make them conform to his own value system. The extreme view is that any manipulation, as the change agent role tends to require, of others is immoral. A more moderate attitude sees planned change as the attainment of desirable social and human goals and regards manipulation toward those goals as benign.

Those anthropologists who attempt to justify the latter viewpoint feel somewhat uncomfortable because in so doing they refer to such abstractions as human dignity, personal freedom, truth, justice, and integrity. Perhaps the answer for the person in organization who must stimulate certain reactions in others is to develop his own personal code of ethics with respect to the practice of manipulation. Such a code might take the form of a bill of rights for the individual on the one hand, and a list of thou-shalt-nots for the person worried about the manipulative aspects of his job on the other. It is the feeling of your authors that the problem of manipulation will be well on the way to solution by mere recognition of the fact it involves ethical and moral issues; that the cunning individual sins against humanity when he utilizes his knowledge of how to manipulate human behavior in the accomplishment of goals which are contrary to human dignity, justice, truth, integrity, and honesty.

Values

The revolt against the machine model of administration was essentially based upon its failure to recognize the question of social values. However, it should be said in passing that it was also criticized because it adopted a single standard of value, namely, productive efficiency. The value question was also raised by the attack upon Simon's advocacy of logical positivism which seemed to advocate a separation of fact-value, at least to a certain extent, for particular types of analysis.¹⁰

For present purposes it might be best to consider values as they are part of the institutionalizing process. Selznick regards institutionalization as a process which takes place by infusing an organization with values. It takes place when the environment and climate of the organization have been subjected to a certain degree of socialization beyond the mere technical needs of accomplishing the organization's immediate goals. It is a process which takes into account psychological, sociological, spiritual, and personal needs which transcend the formal job description. Such infusion of value leads to social stratification and the stabilization of values which make it difficult to bring about what seems to be desirable change. He gives the example by the people of San Francisco upon retaining their cable cars even though it costs them a great deal of tax money each year.

¹⁰ Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), pp. 45-60.

He also refers to the Marine Corps as being infused with values and recounts the difficulty President Truman encountered in resisting the attempt to place a Marine Corps representative on the Joint Chiefs of Staff.¹¹

The concept of infusion with values is important from the standpoint of the supervisor as a change agent because it points to the fact that in many cases he will have to alter values and substitute new ones in order to bring about change. This problem also relates to the problem of motivation to produce. Zaleznik and his associates, in the study previously cited, referred to frozen groups in a factory. These were groups of production workers who could not be stimulated to greater production by the rewards which management had to offer. These groups had value systems of their own relative to production, and hence the term "frozen." Individuals were motivated by the social rewards which the group had to offer and these ran counter to the productivity values of management.^{12, 13}

Concept of self

As with each other person in the organization, the supervisor must maintain his self-esteem.¹⁴ To maintain it, the supervisor must maintain some sort of balance between his concept of self, the image he feels others have of the supervisory role, his image of that role, and the image of the supervisory role projected for him as contained in such as the discussion at hand. Then too there is the matter of his level of aspiration, a complicating factor in many respects, but particularly frustrating if successes are few and far between in his attempts toward the goal of becoming an effective change agent.

This area which involves the concept of personal constructs—"each individual man formulates in his own way constructs through which he views the world of events"¹⁵—is an area which the organization has been traditionally ill-equipped to deal with. Whether or not the clinical approach to supervision should delve as deeply into the intricacies of what Lewin¹⁶ termed the life space, or not, shall have to await the results of additional intensive research. There is even much controversy about dealing with the

¹¹ Phillip Selznik, *Leadership and Administration* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 16ff.

¹² Zaleznik, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 387ff.

¹³ A discussion of individual values and related topics is left to the fuller treatments of related areas in Chapters 12 and 20.

¹⁴ In a psychological definition, self-esteem is a state of being on good terms with one's superego. Pathologic loss of self-esteem is characteristic of clinical depression.

¹⁵ George A. Kelly, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1955), p. 12.

¹⁶ Kurt Lewin, *Field Theory and Social Science*, edited by Dorwin Cartwright (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1951). Collected papers published posthumously.

matter obliquely, as some trainers do in sensitivity training. In the meantime the depth to which employee counseling goes will depend on what each supervisor feels is the proper degree. Hopefully, he will not go beyond the bounds of his capabilities.

Fears

Fear and anxiety are sometimes used synonymously, and they are both of a twofold nature which can be classified as *real* and *neurotic*. People in organizations seem to exhibit a great deal of both varieties. When it comes to "fear of change" the supervisor has little opportunity but to deal with fear as being real to the person exhibiting it. Fear of loss of job, loss of pay, loss of status, loss of the security one has gained by being a member of a certain face-to-face group, or loss of security at having to abandon a familiar and comfortable skill are all quite real to the rank and file. Though "in general, corporate employees are not likely to respond to organizational changes with intense emotion . . . nevertheless, some individuals, fortunately only a small minority, may be so disturbed by organizational changes that they respond irrationally."¹⁷

STRATEGIES OF CHANGE

It is a truism that policies generated at the top of the hierarchy are often not acceptable to those on the lower levels, particularly in the case of blue-collar workers among whom the rewards and sanctions of the union or members of the immediate social group are more impelling than the rewards or sanctions available to management.¹⁸ The first strategic step in the strategy of hierarchy would seem to be to understand that change has to take place on the several echelons at the same time. Ordinarily change will be less likely to result where reliance is placed solely on orders issued unilaterally from above.

The strategy of pressure

In view of the social science value system which tends to view power and manipulation with raised eyebrows, one tends to discuss the use of conscious force or pressure apologetically. If any professional justification is needed to deal with the subject, it is at least partially furnished by some cases recently reported in the literature of anthropology.

An example might be dubbed the *Tactic of Bold Confrontation*. American technical advisers in Pakistan had succeeded in getting the Pakistanis to establish regional schools for the training of native village workers as advisers in activities such as agriculture, sanitation, and public works. The

¹⁷ Ginzberg and Reilley, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁸ Zaleznik, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

traditional lecture system without practice and demonstration was followed with the result that the graduates were ill-fitted for their tasks. When the American advisers protested at the higher echelons nothing happened until the Americans adopted the tactic of bold confrontation with the facts and insisted on the facing of reality. The result was the adoption of a demonstration-practice approach similar to the four-step method used by training within industry during World War II.¹⁹

This strategy is one open to the supervisor. It is not, however, as different from some of the concepts of interpersonal relations set down throughout a number of other chapters. Good interpersonal relations, the non-directive approach, or other concepts discussed did not contain any suggestion that the supervisor should approach all his organizational relationships by circuitous routes. A wayward employee, or group of employees, must be confronted, perhaps boldly such as in the case of their dereliction of duty—but boldly, not irrationally.

The strategy of communication

There is a strategy of communication which will either facilitate or hinder change. It is so all-embracing and penetrating that it overlaps the other dimensions of change, which explains why there are those who see communication as the basic process of organizing.²⁰ The case mentioned above will serve to illustrate. In the Pakistan training of village leaders, complete understanding on the part of headquarters officials was thwarted through the system of formal inspection wherein visiting dignitaries were shown what local supervisors wanted them to see and were assured that everything was under control. Change occurred only after the American advisers insisted that the actual system of instruction differed from what was manifest on inspection and that the embryo village leaders were not learning to practice the skills they needed.

The strategy of placement

One of the strongest causes of resistance to change the supervisor faces is fear of losing one's job or being required to learn new skills, as was mentioned previously. Hence, an accepted strategy is to assure²¹ the af-

¹⁹ James W. Green, "Success and Failure in Technical Assistance," *Human Organization*, 20:2-10, Spring 1961.

²⁰ John M. Piffner, "An Operational Focus on Organization Change," Miscellaneous Papers JMP No. 10 (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Summer 1961) Mimeographed.

²¹ The reader is to be cautioned that the method of using assurance can have serious complications as in the case where the employee interprets "being taken care of to the greatest extent possible," as a promise that he will not lose job, status nor pay. Too, the insecure person may frequently seek assurance, the granting of which does little, if anything, toward his development.

fectured employees that they will be taken care of to the greatest extent possible. In those cases where reduction in force will result, the slack can sometimes be taken care of by a normal turnover.²²

One of the biggest problems arises in those cases where displaced persons will have to learn new skills, which is happening at an accelerated rate during the current changeover to automation and particularly the automation of office work by computers. In some cases the old employees are trained in the new skills but the difficulties arise when they are not trainable because of age or lack of basic education or aptitudes.²³ The bringing about of planned change is certainly a personnel function as much as it is a technical procedure. Personnel departments will need to have trained counselors who will be able to back up the counseling efforts of the supervisor.

The strategy of social awareness

Supervisors who would overcome resistance to change must be aware of the fact that production organizations are social institutions. Production processes are inextricably intertwined with social processes and the social system with the result that technical and mechanical change must be accompanied by social change. Such awareness involves some understanding of the social grouping of workers, their values and belief systems, location of power centers, the spotting of indigenous leaders and the sociometric pattern of the organization, in general, in contrast to the job-task pyramid.

The strategy of goal-setting

One of the most frequent recurring themes in the periodical management literature of today is the failure to think through goals and objectives in the installation of computers. Apparently preliminary steps have been taken and computers ordered and even the "hardware" has been on the ground before a well thought out plan for their installation and use has been achieved. The same thing happened a generation ago when punch card tabulating equipment first became popular. People began punching cards with data for which they had no use. The point is that planned change should be carefully planned and that there is an administrative analysis job of the traditional type being done in connection with the installation of technological change. This involves job analysis, analysis of

²² For the manner in which this problem was handled when data processing was automated in the California State Department of Employment, see James R. Bell and Lynwood B. Steedman, *Personnel Problems of Converting to Automation*, I.C.P. Case No. 44 (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1959).

²³ See Ida R. Hoos, "The Impact of Office Automation on Workers," *International Labor Review*, 53:363-388, October 1960.

work flow, layout, scheduling and supervisor involvement all the way to the first level of supervision.

The strategy of displacement of values

Resistance to change arises in large part because of a conflict of values between change agent and those needing change. This is illustrated in the case where an attempt to tell African Hausa villagers that the tsetse fly causes sleeping sickness and that elimination of brush along the streams would get rid of the flies. The Hausa did not believe it. They could not even be convinced that the symptoms of sleeping sickness came from a disease, preferring to believe that it was a natural state. The germ theory of disease was beyond their ability or willingness to understand.²⁴ The almost universal conflict between folk medicine and Western medicine is offered in further illustration.²⁵

The strategy of fusion

This refers, of course, to the Bakke-Argyris proposition that the organization goals and personal goals are often in conflict, or at least not identical. "Fusion" refers to the process of bringing the two sets of goals more closely together. The strategies of placement and involvement are surely closely related, if not major procedural devices in bringing about fusion. The principal thought for the supervisor to keep in mind is that resistance to change arises to a considerable extent from disturbing deep-seated personal goals of workers as they perceive them. An obvious tactic in dealing with such anxieties is to try to understand what they are and how to allay them. Technological change is proceeding so rapidly that it will not be possible to bring about complete fusion; indeed it is usually not possible to do so even in the absence of change. The important thing is for supervision to be aware of the problem.

EPILOGUE

Other strategies appear in the literature. In addition to those used above, they include: strategy of involvement-commitment; strategy of hierarchy; strategy of feedback-evaluation-follow-up; strategy of external relations, and strategy of action-research. The reader must recognize, however, that these are pragmatic strategies which any group of supervisors might develop in a serious training session in which they fell to examining some of the approaches they had used in their change agent roles. Though

²⁴ Horace Miner, "Culture Change Under Pressure: A Hausa Case," *Human Organization*, 19:164-167, Fall 1960.

²⁵ John Adair, "The Indian Health Worker in the Cornell-Navajo Project," *Human Organization*, 19:59-63, Summer 1960.

lower level supervisors might at first resist what could be called "impractical cerebrating," it seems certain that viewing the intricacies of organizational change from different points of view might well sharpen their own perspectives. This would also be true for the student of administration.

Let it not be forgotten though, that despite the sophistication some of us may attain in regard to change, change may tend to bring pain and bewilderment to many even in our "advanced" culture, as it did to the sixty-year-old North Indian peasant woman replying to the question of what had changed since her youth. She "first looked startled and then said: Why everything has changed! It is all gone."²⁶

²⁶ William L. Rowe, "Introduction, Special Issue, Contours of Culture Change in South Asia," *Human Organization*, 22:2-4, Spring 1963.

Social Aspects of Supervision

THREE

The superior-subordinate matrix

The superior-subordinate relationship has been either neglected or ignored in the new human relations literature, except as it relates to leadership in small groups. This probably arises from the social science value system, which is dominantly permissive and democratic in essence; it instinctively recoils from such concepts as manipulation, power and hierarchy.

Chapter

10

In Chapter 1 it was stated that the superior-subordinate relationship colors the whole fabric of life for many—perhaps most—people; it is a major cause of personal anxiety. If one had to select a characterization for the social climate of organization relationships throughout history it would be “authoritarian.” It was also stated above that the principal contribution of the Human-Relations-in-Management Movement in the twentieth century will have been to ameliorate the harsh hand of hierarchy in management institutions. The rule of law is replacing arbitrary command in organization relationships just as it did in the political realm over a period of several hundred years, where we have such landmarks as Magna Charta, Lord Coke defying the Stuart kings, and the Bill of Rights of 1689. These developments were horrifying to the traditionalists who thought that they marked the end of order and discipline in society.

What is happening is a revolution in human relationships in management hierarchies in which a new type of superior-subordinate relationship is being developed. Caprice and arbitrary authority are being replaced by a new superior-subordinate matrix the exact conformation of which is not yet apparent. We need to develop a new set of social skills that will combine the new permissive and democratic approach with the continuing need to exercise authority, positive and forceful authority when called for. There will emerge a new theory of authority which will be only partly deductive and mainly inductive, that is, developed from the stream of events as guided by concepts of freedom. There is no more thrilling epi-

sode in the history of mankind than the gradual emergence of political freedom in the Western world, particularly in England and the countries which she colonized. History will say that this was the great contribution of the English speaking peoples to the gradual civilization of mankind. It brought effective authority and a regime of order within a basic framework of freedom.

THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY

Authority and freedom not opposed

It has always been difficult for the authoritarian mind to perceive that authority and freedom are not inconsistent. Students of political theory learn in their elementary courses the distinction between freedom and license. Freedom consists of self-determination *within the law*, with due regard for the rights of others and social comity, whereas license is the unfettered propensity to do what suits one's caprice without regard to the rights and interests of others. The conservative mind has always mistrusted the intentions and wisdom of the common man, a most apt expression of this apprehensiveness being stated in Elton Mayo's "Rabble Hypothesis."¹

Elsewhere we have distinguished between authority and power. Authority is the legal right conferred by the formal organization to control the actions of others. Such legal right is usually conferred in writing through laws, charters, rules, and manuals; the vernacular catchall term is "the book." It should be noted in passing that authority not yet officially written in "the book" can nevertheless be legitimized through custom and practice. There are perhaps many degrees of social legitimacy, a subject which is in need of more conceptualization in the literature of administration. An outstanding example is the legitimization of the folkways in the English common law, and the rise of the Roman *jus gentium* is another example.

Every organization tends to develop a common law consisting of customs, practices, and accepted ways of doing things that have not yet been incorporated in the written "book," but that have nevertheless been authenticated by the hierarchy through tacit acceptance if not otherwise. Our purpose in discussing social legitimacy here is to point out that it can constitute the basis for authority.

Power, on the other hand, is the ability to get others to do what you want them to do irrespective of one's legal right to control them. Power may be exercised legitimately, and in that respect it may overlap with authority. But power carries with it the additional connotation of illegitimate control over others.

¹ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1945), p. 34.

Force and coercion

Students of jurisprudence, in discussing the nature of law, have often indulged in the perennial controversy relative to the place of force in law. Is a rule of action nevertheless a law even though there is no force to compel obedience to it? The extreme conservative position is often referred to as the Austinian² definition of law. A law is a rule of action laid down by a political superior who has the power, by means of a sanction, to compel the obedience of a political inferior. The word "sanction" means penalty for breach, such as fine or imprisonment.

The other extreme is represented by the viewpoint that a rule of action is not a law unless it has been legitimized by social approval. The concept of legitimacy has not received widespread treatment in the literature of social science, but the group dynamicists are dealing with the same concept without juristic terminology.³ Basic to small group theory is the tenet that authority springs from within the group, that the leader emerges rather than being formally selected, that the leader earns his authority through group approval, and that sanctions, if not imposed directly by the group, are at least consonant with group sentiments.

The New Sophistication

The last quarter century has brought a new sophistication in the conceptualization of authority, mainly as the result of the writings of Barnard and Simon. Barnard advanced the idea of "zone of acceptance" which "establishes the area of acceptance in behavior within which the subordinate is willing to accept the decisions made for him by his superior."⁴ This is a revolutionary concept because it conflicts head-on with the traditional attitudes relative to the nature of authority. That it is not entirely an emanation from the ivory tower is attested by the fact that Barnard was himself the head of a great industrial corporation. Furthermore, another contemporary industrialist has gained considerable recognition for his advocacy of a similar conceptualization under the title of "bottom-up management."⁵

² After Austin, an English jurist.

³ Ralph M. Stogdill, *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1959), pp. 134-140; N. Gross, W. S. Mason, and A. W. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958).

⁴ Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 133; Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 167. Barnard calls it the "zone of indifference."

⁵ William B. Given, *Bottom-Up Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1949).

THE NEW SUPERVISION

The myth of despotism

Not many years ago a fairly widespread myth existed to the effect that desirable supervisory behavior resembled that traditionally attributed to the top sergeant. The blue-collar supervisor shouted, swore, and brooked no opposition. The clerical supervisor perhaps abstained from shouting and profanity, but he created a desirable climate of authority by assuming the role of the strong silent man who could vent his wrath if need arose. Communication was one-way—no back-talk—and immediate compliance with orders from above was expected. This is probably an overstatement and may partake of the nature of an unfair caricature; yet as a myth it was quite prevalent, remembering that a myth is a conceptualization of accepted folkways. A myth is what people believe and accept irrespective of its intrinsic validity, and until very recently the folkways accepted authoritarian supervision as a proper concomitant of organization life.

To the conservative mind, American society has in recent years been infected by the virus of permissiveness. It is manifested by what its critics believe to be the anarchy of progressive education, the leniency advocated by some child psychologists, the advocacy of rehabilitation by the sociologically oriented criminologists, and, in general, the younger generation's lack of respect for traditional social discipline.

In the management realm this social phenomenon—virus or benefit, according to one's values—is manifested by resistance to traditional authority in the restraints on discretion imposed by collective bargaining with labor unions and civil service laws. In addition there have sprung up a host of restrictions imposed by such reform legislation as Fair Employment Practice laws to protect the Negro, child-labor codes, and laws governing the employment of women. Taken all in all, arbitrary treatment of an employee is both legally and practically impossible today. Moreover, these outward manifestations are merely symptoms of profound culture change in American society. The long struggle for social justice has finally reached the operational level of the common man who can no longer be pushed around. This American demand for fair play calls for translating into practice a fusion of such of our noble aspirations as constitutional protection of the individual, freedom in the workaday world, equality of opportunity, and protection against arbitrary authority.

New social skills

It was stated above that these developments require the acquisition of new social skills. Discipline can no longer be maintained—if it ever could be—by the dread specter of the supervisor armed with the sanctions of dis-

missal, suspension, demotion, and reprimand. It is no longer fruitful to deplore this—to some—regrettable state of affairs because it is a fact accomplished, which must be dealt with. Hence it becomes necessary to analyze the situation and determine what needs to be done. What are the social skills demanded of supervisors to deal with the new order?

In general these social skills are those advocated in the first and second editions of this book under the designation of “clinical” supervision, with one important addition. Perhaps it constitutes a reemphasis rather than an addition. Specifically, the role of the supervisor as trainer and developer has taken on new dimensions and importance. That is why the latter half of this volume places so much greater emphasis on the training function than did earlier editions. It is nevertheless felt that the adjective “clinical” has valid connotations in describing the type of behavior which should take place between superiors and subordinates in the emerging American cultural environment.

Its dominant characteristics are help and support. Its action ingredients constitute: (1) two-way communication, (2) a listening type of interaction, (3) consultation, (4) coaching, (5) job training, (6) therapeutic analysis of personnel problem cases, and (7) the exercise of firm command where the situation requires it.

CONFLICT WITH TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

The new supervision calls for a set of superior-subordinate relationships that run counter to traditional behavior patterns. The last decade has seen a great deal of lip service paid to the concept of executive development. “Lip service” is perhaps too harsh a judgment because there has been widespread acceptance of group training programs, not only in industry but in public administration; the federal dam which limited expenditure of public funds for training has been finally broken, and federal employees are attending executive training programs in ever-increasing numbers.⁶ Industrial executives have long been lured into such sessions both in and out of plant.

The industrial executive development movement has been tied in ideologically and sometimes organically with organization planning, and a new terminology of “organization development” has achieved some usage. The rationale is that the widespread expansion of industry in the 1950's, expected to continue in the 1960's, calls for manpower planning at the executive level. Organization planners are expected to project needs, often through manning charts, while the developers (trainers) are charged with producing bodies having the desired qualifications when needed. Of course,

⁶ A noteworthy volume of papers has grown out of such a program conducted by the University of Chicago for federal officers. Sidney Mailick and Edward H. Van Ness, *Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).

this is an oversimplification because it does not take account of the lip service aspect of the problem referred to above, namely, the myth that superiors are expected to develop subordinates, sometimes referred to in management vernacular as "coaching." Group training sessions have by and large been successful; they have done what they were expected to do, taking into account their inherent limitations. The weak link in the chain has been the coaching relationship, and this is what we propose to examine at this point because to be successful it calls for changing traditional patterns of behavior between superior and subordinate.

Are we bumping up against a stone wall?

There seems to be fairly substantial evidence that the coaching operation is not working out as contemplated. The very top management officials who give it seemingly enthusiastic endorsement fail to follow through and become coaches to their own subordinates. It is assumed that the matter has been taken care of when an executive development staff unit is created but the man chosen to carry through in that capacity too often finds himself isolated and frustrated. Part of this situation can be attributed to the fact that these coaching programs are often tied in with systematic evaluation, a procedure with such negative connotations that it has proved to be the perennial failure of personnel management.⁷

The American Management Association conducted a study in industrial organizations to determine the extent of communication between superiors and subordinates.⁸ The questions were designed to ascertain the degree of agreement between pairs of superiors and subordinates in four areas: (1) job duties, (2) job requirements, (3) future changes, and (4) job obstacles. The general conclusion was that there existed a low level of agreement; the highest category of agreement prevailed in the "job duties," but even here agreement was only "slightly more" than disagreement. In all of the other areas they disagreed more often than they agreed. Moreover, the findings were quite consistent in different companies. The overall conclusion of the researchers was that "substantial communication problems exist at high management levels in organizations—problems which one can expect to be reflected in poorer organizational efficiency and distortion of organization goals at lower levels in the hierarchy."⁹

The researchers followed up these findings with suggested solutions, the principal one being the old pragmatic device of conference leadership—problem-solving conferences in which the superior acts as the conference leader for his immediate subordinates. This approach could be supple-

⁷ To be discussed in Chapter 15, "Individual Approaches."

⁸ Norman R. F. Maier and others, *Superior-Subordinate Communication in Management*, Research Study No. 52 (New York: American Management Association, 1961).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

mented by the problem-solving interview in which the supervisor and subordinate talk out their differences on a man-to-man basis. There is nothing particularly new in this approach because conference leadership has been the principal vehicle of supervisory training for several generations going back at least to Dr. Allen's World War I experiences, which set the pattern for supervisory training for several decades, particularly under the federal aid to vocational education programs which flourished between wars.¹⁰

The leader of the research team which produced the AMA Research Report No. 52 now under consideration was Norman R. F. Maier, a psychologist from the University of Michigan who has been associated with Rensis Likert, whose writings he cites. Likert is noted for his sponsorship of studies of leadership in industrial organizations and has become known as an advocate of a consultative, group-centered approach. Indeed, it would be fairly accurate to say that Ann Arbor has become the locale for leadership in the so-called behavioral sciences and the center for the group dynamics movement.¹¹ The research findings of this group, many of whom were the disciples of Kurt Lewin, perhaps the father of the group dynamics movement, have so strongly supported a consultative type of leadership, that Likert has been gently chided for assuming the role of advocate. At any rate the name of Likert has become synonymous with a pattern of leadership based upon intimate interaction, two-way communication, consultation and group-centered supervision.¹²

The realities of organization life

In spite of the fact that the research findings of the group dynamicists strongly support a consultative type of supervision, the fact remains that it has not been embraced enthusiastically and supported in action by the management community. To be sure, the new upsurge in training has brought certain support, but it has too often been a gimmick approach as has certainly been the case with the attempt to tie appraisal to coaching. A psychologist working in the field of industrial mental health has spelled out five reasons for failure.¹³

The captions under which he discussed his points are as follows: (1) lack of time, (2) no mistakes allowed, (3) dependency needs rejected, (4)

¹⁰ Charles R. Allen, *The Foreman and His Job* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1922).

¹¹ For a criticism of Likert see Merrill J. Collett, "Strategy Versus Tactics as the Object of Research in Public Administration," *Public Administration Review*, 22:115-121, September 1962.

¹² Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961).

¹³ Harry Levinson, "A Psychologist Looks at Executive Development," *Harvard Business Review*, 40:69-75, September-October 1962.

rivalry is repressed, and (5) relationship is unexamined. He emphasizes that "lack of time" refers to psychological time rather than chronological time. Another way of saying it is that the incentives do not exist, for "rarely is a line executive in a business organization rewarded for developing executives."¹⁴ Others have observed and written in a similar vein, and Roethlisberger stated twenty years ago that the kind of people who consult, coordinate, and pour oil on the troubled waters are found at the bottom of the hierarchy from which they seldom climb.¹⁵ Mary Follett also observed that the young man on the make will get attention for his ascendancy traits rather than skills at interpersonal coordination. A reasonable inference is that executive time could be made available for development of subordinates if the organization climate provided incentives therefor.

The second point runs to the effect that in order to grow a subordinate must be allowed to make mistakes, but the conditions of organization life do not permit sufficient tolerance of risk to condone honest mistakes. The penalties for making mistakes are so great that the totality of pressures is toward that type of caution which avoids mistakes. This has led in turn to the piling up of "just in case" data to justify one's decisions in case he is brought to account. The proliferation of staff and supportive personnel has been one result of this quest for certainty.

The third variable in this superior-subordinate matrix is that the traditional spirit of hierarchy does not encourage a dependency relationship in which the boss is a helper rather than a teller. The boss is himself a subordinate with his own "dependency needs" and he does not have either the psychological energy or the environmental support to look out for his personal interests and also those of subordinates. The coaching relationship calls for a process of mutual exchange of ideas between superior and subordinate yet traditional executive behavior more often seems to elicit off-the-cuff decisiveness which tends to stifle the desired interchange.

The fourth barrier to a developmental relationship between superior and subordinate is the condition of rivalry existing between the two. Rivalry and hostility between father and son runs throughout the epic literature of mankind. It is commonplace to say that supervisors are apprehensive of their subordinates, one of the most evident pieces of testimony being the widespread inauguration of suggestion systems. One of their principal objectives is to overcome the suppression of ideas for improvement by supervisors who are motivated so to behave by two sources of anxiety. The first is the very real fear that a subordinate's suppression will be regarded by the supervisor's superiors as a criticism of himself. Why did he not think of it? Is it not a part of his job to initiate and foster im-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁵ Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, 23:283-298, Spring 1945.

provements? The second apprehension arises from the possibility that the subordinate will attract such notice that he will be preferred for promotion over his supervisor. In our competitive society mobility goes to the strong, so one throws roadblocks in the way of a subordinate who displays too much ability, especially if one suspects that the subordinate's precociousness bodes ill for one's self.

The fifth negative variable in traditional superior-subordinate interaction is the absence of a mutually supportive, give-and-take type of exchange. "Each party must have a sense of modifying each other."¹⁶ Superiors must be brought to acknowledge that such a relationship may involve differences of opinion and may (perhaps will) generate irritation and even expressions of anger. The psychological problem is to generate in executives that emotional stability and personal maturity which will recognize these effervescences for what they are rather than tokens of insubordination. One of the major objectives of sensitivity training is to produce those insights which will in turn create that type of maturity needed to support the desired superior-subordinate matrix. While it is difficult to estimate the exact extent it seems reasonable to expect an increase in individual counseling directed toward the improvement of interpersonal relations.

DELEGATION

The management literature on delegation has been for the most part hortatory; like respecting one's parents, it is the correct thing to do. The problem is to change the deep-set behavior patterns of command and order-giving so prevalent in management culture. The Harvard Business School has come up with two studies of the problem. The earlier one postulates a model for the ideal delegator, while the second tells of the attempt to change the behavior of the occupants of key positions in a grocery chain to conform to a delegating type of leadership.

Two opposing archetypes

A team of researchers from the Harvard Business School set out to pool all of the resources of that institution in a comprehensive study of executive behavior in industrial organization.¹⁷ In addition to examining the rich cache of cases for which that school is famous, they conducted extensive field investigations in all parts of the country, and also picked the brains of their colleagues on the faculty. Their report contains a chapter on "The Process of Delegation" which postulates two opposing models of delegating behavior, one not the way to do it and the other bearing the

¹⁶ Levinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁷ Edmund P. Learned, David N. Ulrich, and Donald R. Booz, *Executive Action* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1951).

stamp of approval. These are identified as executives of a fictitious company, but the presumption is that they are composite archetypes.

Mr. Black interacts frequently with his subordinates but usually in his own office, to which they are summoned; the mere sight of the office is a cause for anxiety. Black's procedure is to begin quizzing the subordinate on some item that he has picked up from written reports which he examines in detail. He usually selects one which shows that something is clearly out of line, and the subordinate is called in to explain why. The subordinate is ready with answers because he has learned how to deal with these situations. The trouble is, however, that this preoccupation with detail has prevented him "from getting a grasp of the whole meaning of the job he is doing."¹⁸ It causes him to assume a similar distrustful attitude toward his own subordinates, and he becomes reluctant to take the initiative without Mr. Black's approval. Mr. Black wants decisive answers to his questions so the subordinate avoids sensitive areas. If the latter makes a positive statement Mr. Black immediately responds with some exception. Mr. Black has the reputation of usually being right while others are wrong. His whole behavior pattern is such as to discourage mutual interaction, and subordinates have built defenses based on avoidance and caginess. Mr. Black has thus shut himself off from the vital type of information not available in reports from the comptroller's office.

Mr. Black has a good reputation among his colleagues, who approve of his behavior.

The ideal delegator

Mr. Wood of the same company practices the emotional maturity referred to earlier in this chapter. He tries to minimize harmful anxieties on the part of his subordinates, but he realizes that in order to do so he must master his own anxieties. Therefore, he has learned to absorb heat from above and refrain from passing it on in the same form that he has received it. He is especially adept in handling situations where his superiors come into his office with an order to do something or to stop doing it. Often such orders are issued in threatening or peremptory terms. One's natural inclination would be to convey the same peremptory and threatening tone to subordinates at once, but not Mr. Wood. "Instead, he waits until he can see which way the wind is blowing, until he himself has cooled off, and until he can reflect on which among his subordinates are most likely to have the skills and equipment suitable for the kind of problem involved in the case."¹⁹

He is constantly evaluating his people in his own mind, knowing the degree to which each is able to assume authority and make decisions on

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

his own. He allows them to make mistakes, but his knowledge of their abilities and his own self-control enable him to maximize their leeway for decision with minimum risk to the organization. He is constantly trying to meet their needs—to be helpful—without going so far as to invade their sphere for growth through self-reliance. “In general, he follows the pattern of pushing decision-making as far down in the organization as he can make it go. For example, he routes most of the letters that come to his own desk to other men who he feels can handle them. He does not ordinarily attach comments to these letters, even though he usually has a good idea of how they should be handled.”²⁰ In discussing problems while visiting plants in the field, he calls for suggestions as to solutions, but he is careful to leave the decision to the locals.

People are so sensitive to the opinions of those in hierarchical authority that they may take the slightest remark as a command. Wood was perfectly aware of this with the result that he had mastered tactics of discussing alternatives without seeming to be committed to any one of them. This led to a behavior characterized by apparent surface detachment that caused some people to believe him to be cool and vacillating, but he was willing to pay this penalty. He had learned to resist the temptation to insist on his own way of doing things. He had learned to use his subordinates as a team. He encouraged the free expression of opinions and made sure that those who “stuck their necks out” did not get hurt. He required his men to clear their ideas with others. They shared responsibility with each other and refrained from engaging in power plays. This resulted in a reduction of the need for formal group meetings, and Wood found it possible to take a less active part in such meetings.

Wood made a conscious effort to develop subordinates and encourage them to bring their own juniors into conference. He discussed with them how best to go about the process of development. In visiting offices, he was able to have a directness of contact with subordinates on other levels without damaging the superior-subordinate structure of others. He went out of his way on these occasions to avoid giving orders and by-passing others. He refrained from widespread use of written memoranda and avoided issuing brief written directives. He found that the promotion of subordinates out of his own jurisdiction did not damage his own position in the company, but, on the contrary, that the development of executive talent in depth actually created opportunities for assuming broader responsibilities on his own part.

Wood was *not* a laissez-faire type who would tolerate weakness. When he had finally resolved that firm steps must be taken, he addressed the situation boldly, but not on horseback with a sword. In discussions of a subordinate's failure, he directed attention toward circumstances and situations and away from personalities.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

SOFTENING THE HIERARCHY

A chain grocery store decided in the early 1950's to decentralize.²¹ Several circumstances led to this decision but perhaps the foremost consideration was the change in the food retailing industry from the small store to the supermarket. While the pressure from other chains was decisive, the local independent was also being felt as a competitive factor. Moreover, a generation of younger executives sensed the general trend toward new patterns of organization involving decentralized decision-making and the development of strong personalities at the store level. This was not a desperation measure, because the firm was making money. The remarkable fact is that a strong president of the old school of centralized operation approved of the change and was a prime-mover in bringing it about.

In order to understand the magnitude of the change involved, it becomes necessary to examine the broad outlines of the organization prior to the change. As was common in chain store practice, power centered in functional staff units that extended their control into the minutiae of store operations. There was not a single store manager responsible for everything that went on, but three managers independent of each other: one each for produce, groceries, and meat. The supervision of these three came from a district manager and two assistant district managers, one for produce and one for meat; and these supervised several stores.²²

The behavior of these district managers partook of the nature of military inspection during which they accompanied the local managers about the store, pointing out things that were wrong and indicating where correction and improvement was needed. Conferences between the two often resulted in written lists of shortcomings and the expectation that these would be corrected before the next visit. One should not rush to the conclusion that this resulted in poor morale, because the prerogatives of hierarchy were accepted by subordinates as a necessary way of life. This was also true of the attitudes of the clerks toward their department managers.

Strength at the grass roots

The primary focus of reorganization was directed toward two jobs, the store manager and the district manager. The former was to be placed in complete charge of everything in the store and to develop the image of an autonomous business man and entrepreneur to the extent that such an objective could be made consistent with bureaucracy and hierarchy. In order to achieve this goal it became necessary to free him from the au-

²¹ Paul R. Lawrence, *The Changing of Organizational Patterns* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1958).

²² *Ibid.*, see chart p. 27.

thoritarian controls of headquarters staff units and the detailed supervision of district managers. Yet it was necessary to have supervision in the field. This is the dilemma of all geographically dispersed organizations: how to achieve a desirable balance between autonomy in the field and the need for supervision and control from the center. The crucial problem in this case was to change the behavior of the district manager, for this was the trigger link in the hierarchical chain. The store manager could not become a self-reliant entrepreneur if he was to continue to receive detailed direction from above.

The new dispensation called for the inauguration of behavior patterns broadly similar to that advocated by the AMA study discussed above. The familiar ingredients were: two-way communication, a listening and coaching type of interaction between district manager and store manager, and confining the headquarters functional units to the purely staff behavior of advice and consultation. The main goal was to push decision-making down to the store level, but the principal behavior problem was to keep his superiors out of the store manager's hair without relieving them of supervisory responsibility.²³

SUMMARY

Traditional concepts of the proper relationship between a superior and subordinate were characterized in spirit by the connotation of "master and servant," which is still the designation found in the legal digests. It was a one-way street in which orders came from above, immediate and unquestioning response was expected, and disagreement and disobedience were regarded as subversive. Discipline was to be maintained by social distance exuding the aura of personal authority; and this end was furthered by deliberately creating feelings of anxiety on the part of the underlings. The weight of hierarchy was not only heavy but much in evidence. This concept of authority set the tone for most bureaucratic institutions whether military, civilian, governmental or industrial.

There has been a rebellion against this concept, particularly in the West where it took the form of political democracy, constitutional government, and guaranteed and enforceable civil liberties. The long history of the release of man from arbitrary authority and caprice finally entered the realm of industrial bureaucracy in the twentieth century, one of its principal manifestations being the Human-Relations-in-Management Movement. The new pattern of superior-subordinate behavior can be characterized as a careful balance of permissive leadership with those pressures of hierarchy which are necessary for the accomplishment of

²³ Lawrence's study tells of the varying degrees of success achieved with three different district managers, whom he observed closely, using the methodology of interaction research.

organization goals. The exact form which practice will take will vary from organization to organization and a long period of experiment will take place. This will involve both empirical trial and error and evaluation through experimental research.

At the present time one can cautiously suggest that the new matrix will include the following practices:

1. uninhibited two-way communication;
2. mutual interaction between superior and subordinate, in which tension will be minimized;
3. a listening-coaching behavior instead of reprimand;
4. problem solving through consultation, both group and individual;
5. a "clinical" approach to dealing with variant behavior;
6. the absorption of hierarchical "heat" by superiors;
7. pushing decision-making down, but protecting subordinate decision-makers against unnecessary harassment from above;
8. a "developmental" approach to up-grading individuals, with a calculated leeway for learning through mistakes; and
9. a hands-off type of behavior supervision in contrast to the clucking-hen approach.

Communication

Communication is a word with a galaxy of connotations each of which is valuable and useful for its particular context. Thus the "communications industry" has come to embrace advertising, newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and public relations; it is a term designed to add dignity and prestige to hucksterism. The teaching of freshman English in college has used the designation, perhaps with an unarticulated but nevertheless artful purpose of making it seem more attractive. Thus communication, as a term, would seem to possess some sort of glamour lure; and therefore it may not have entirely escaped the opprobrium of gadgetry.

Chapter 11

Our treatment of the subject shall follow the theme of the previous chapter, namely, the function of communication in the superior-subordinate matrix. The emphasis will be on personnel interaction, but not entirely at the neglect of systems. There are two important overall categories of systems which deserve consideration in discussions of organization and management. The first is what may be termed, for convenience, traditional systems and the second, cybernetic systems. Traditional systems include the familiar varieties of transmission of information, mainly through the sending of written messages through channels. It also includes such familiar devices as accounting books, manuals, job descriptions, filing systems, bulletin boards, and various kinds of memoranda.¹ Let us reiterate that these traditional systems of communication are important and should not be regarded as outmoded by the new information technology, although the latter has undoubtedly affected the manner of its application.

Cybernetics systems

These systems occupy the center of attention today in practically all aspects of the management process. Among those who would explain the

¹ Consult Charles E. Redfield, *Communication in Management*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

phenomena of organization in terms of an overall process are the decision theorists who say that the decision is the basic unit of organization—the atom, so to speak. Find out by whom and where the decisions are made and the outline of the organization will be revealed. On the other hand, there are those who view communications as the basic process with the message as the atom.

Cybernetics sprang from electrical engineering theory, and its origin is usually attributed to Norbert Wiener, a theoretical engineer and mathematician. It is not necessary for our purposes—nor do we possess the required knowledge and background—to enter into a technical discussion of cybernetics. It would seem sufficient to point out that it has a vernacular connotation covering two related phenomena of modern management: (1) automation, and (2) computer technology. Another associated term which has now entered the realm of workaday language is “feedback.” The concept of feedback is basically no different from the sense in which traditional management literature used the term “control”² and is related to the concept of “management by exception.” Thus traditional management theory called for a mutual exchange of messages between those who planned and directed at the top of the hierarchy and those who performed at the production level. Ostensibly the messages that went down were orders or directives and those that came back up reported accomplishments. One can presume that orthodox management theory contemplated a certain mutuality of interaction between the hierarchical levels, in other words, two-way communication. But the spirit of hierarchy has always been repressive and inhibitive in the sense that “talking back” was discouraged. The result was that information flowing upward was distorted by what the communications engineers call “noise.” A vernacular way of putting it would be to say that the message-senders on the lower level did one of three things. First, they told the higher-ups what the latter wanted to hear even though the messages were of doubtful accuracy; second, they juggled data to make themselves look good; third, they failed to report significant information.³

The concept of feedback flows from the analogy of the automatic machines with their feedback loops. A feedback loop works well when there is mutuality of accurate information that enables the constant correction of error, a familiar example being the thermostat in the water heater or on the home furnace. Another analogy is the nervous system of the biological realm, a familiar example being the reaction to the sense of touch, the housewife wetting her finger to test the temperature of the laundry iron. Again it should be emphasized that the feedback loop, whether biological or mechanical, rests firmly on *mutuality* of information and reac-

² Paul E. Holden, Lounsbury S. Fish, and Hubert L. Smith, *Top-Management Organization and Control* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1951).

³ See Melville Dalton, *Men Who Manage* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959).

tion. Senders and receivers of messages have confidence in each other's intentions and accuracy, and the result is that they react willingly and eagerly to the impulses transmitted along the feedback loop.

Management by exception

When we start to carry this analogy over to human organizations a different situation prevails. There the vagaries of human nature operate to prevent the mutuality of response so necessary to the successful operation of the feedback loop. Nevertheless the analogy is important because the advent of the computer carries with it the promise of a new day in the operation of "management by exception." This is a term which links decision theory with communication theory. The decision maker bases his actions on the best information available, and ideally this information is constantly flowing over his desk. But the sheer volume of information is so large that he cannot receive each item as a personal message, so the feedback loop is set up in such a manner as to alert him only to those items which call for some sort of action on his part. These are by their very nature "exceptional" messages, and hence the term "management by exception." The feedback loop in the automatic machine performs the same function by calling to the attention of the control devices only that information which requires action or correction.

Computer technology is so new and in such a state of flux that its impact on management hierarchies can be only speculative. Thus far one has encountered some suggestions that middle management will be greatly reduced and that there will be many more high status technical positions at the top. Such a speculation has sometimes been followed by statements purporting to see decentralization of the information system with smaller computers scattered at lower levels but interlocking with a central memory machine (storage facility). On the basis of past experience one thing seems certain, namely, that the computer must reckon with the human factor. Men have always found ways to "beat the system" when they believed it to their advantage to do so. While it may be that cybernetics systems will become more foolproof, the input of information must go back to human sources somewhere along the line. Consequently it seems appropriate to discuss some familiar problems of communication with the confidence that they will not disappear entirely in the new cybernetic world. But before doing so, it would probably be helpful to speculate about the supervisor's probable relation to the computer in the years to come.

THE SUPERVISOR AND THE COMPUTER

It is a trite but nevertheless very pertinent observation to state that ours is an age of rapidly changing technology in which people must constantly adapt themselves to change. In most organizations this means that the

members thereof will have to live in a milieu of perpetual reeducation and retraining. The supervision of the future will have two striking characteristics each of which will be related to this problem of change, and which are also independent. The first is the already emphasized proposition that superior-subordinate relations need attention because they have in the past been dominantly inhibitive and repressive. The second, which springs from the first, sees the new supervisory relationships as developmental, a setting in which the supervisor creates a social climate which fosters development and retraining. For the generalist supervisor this will always create a problem because he must acquire a certain minimum of sophistication in a number of technologies without becoming master of any of them. This will be the situation relative to the supervisor and computer technology. The computer specialists have been described as constituting their own subculture.

There will be a small, almost separate, society of people in rapport with their advanced computers. These cyberneticians will have established a relationship with their machines that cannot be shared with the average man any more than the average man today can understand the problems of molecular biology, nuclear physics, or neuropsychiatry. Indeed, many scholars will not have the capacity to share their knowledge or feeling about this new man-machine relationship. Those with the talent for the work probably will have to develop it from childhood and will be trained as intensively as the classical ballerina.⁴

This of course does not mean that all supervisors must be members of this elite of cyberneticians any more than factory supervisors in an aircraft plant must be physicists. But it does indicate that the mobile supervisor of the future will be required to have a working knowledge of how the cybernetics system fits into the production process, what it will do for him and the accomplishment of the goals of his job. He will not be an advanced programmer on the theoretical level, yet he will have sufficient grasp of the rudiments of programming to know what it is all about. If he is of the mobile type, his knowledge of computers will be sufficient to allow him to be innovative and sophisticated from a production standpoint in his interaction with the cyberneticians who work at the production level. He will have an insight into the problems of a cybernetic system sufficient to allow him to think through and suggest changes and adaptations which will facilitate his own operations.

THE EFFECTS OF HIERARCHY

Much has been said in these pages about the inhibiting effects of hierarchy on the communication process, yet the most sophisticated laboratory research touching on the subject would seem to come up with an equivo-

⁴ Donald J. Michael, "Cybernation: The Silent Conquest," Morris Philipson, ed., *Automation* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1962), p. 123.

cal answer.⁵ The general import of this research would seem to be that centrally-supervised communication is most effective in attaining immediate goals but that factors relating to morale, individual satisfaction and creativeness are higher when there is less central supervision. In other words communication is more "efficient" in the traditional sense when it is pretty much confined to "channels," but that there are other considerations which counteract the mechanical efficiency of centrality. That would seem to be the eternal dilemma of organization, the lesson of which is undoubtedly that supervision must be flexible and try to get the most out of compromises which are implied. In other words, organization leadership requires a good deal of playing by ear, but by a player who understands the opposing forces at work.

It would follow that one of the most important considerations in discussing the inhibiting influence of hierarchy is not that hierarchy is in itself bad, but that it should be manipulated in the interests of good organization health. In certain circumstances the centrality of channels is desirable and efficient; in others the opposite may be true, as when documents pile up for authentication on the desks of executives. Perhaps the problem could be given a modern, or contemporary setting by discussing it in the milieu of cybernetics terminology, in other words, "noise."

Bureaucratic "noise"

"Noise" is another term borrowed from engineering terminology to describe interference; it is also a term that embraces all of those influences which interfere with (1) the sending of messages, (2) the transmission of messages which have been sent on their way, and (3) the reception of messages by the intended receivers. No claim is made here that the concept of engineering "noise" is entirely applicable to social systems, but it is felt that the analogy is suggestive and symbolical, and in that sense perhaps an aid to understanding. We have used the term "bureaucratic noise" in the caption above much in the sense that one would speak of "hierarchical" noise, or of the noise of "complex organizations," as the sociologists might be wont to put it.

The inhibiting effect of hierarchy

Perhaps the most pervading interference with bureaucratic communication is the superior-subordinate matrix itself. We have said this so often

⁵ G. A. Heise and A. Miller, "Problem Solving by Small Groups Using Various Communications Nets," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46:327-335, July 1951; Alex Bavelas, "Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups," Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953); Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Harold Guetzkow and Herbert A. Simon, "The Impact of Communication Nets Upon Organization and Performance in Task-Oriented Groups," *Management Science*, 1:233.

and in so many different ways that such statements may have become trite, yet it is one of those truisms which needs constant reiteration because its impact becomes clouded in the myth of "happy family" folklore. In other words, the executive contingent has a tendency to believe that its own satisfactions with the organization are shared by subordinates and that those who have contrary views are a small minority of troublemakers and subversives. This "happy family" myth, like the myth of the open door, is an executive device, often subconsciously motivated, by which the superior tranquilizes himself into rationalizing that others have the same attitudes of loyalty toward the organization as he himself possesses.

It is our belief that this superior-subordinate matrix is inherently inhibitive and hence a major source of "noise." But hierarchical noise can be traced to both mechanical and human causes.

Mental deafness

A great deal of hierarchical noise can be attributed to the fact that people tend to hear what they want to hear and close their ears to that which they do not want to hear. A study of 100 companies revealed that when the chairman spoke to the president, 90 per cent "got through." The vice president received 67 per cent of the message, general supervisors 50 per cent, and the foremen 30 per cent, whereas workers received from the foremen only 20 per cent of the chairman's original message.⁶

Teachers of speech have been quite sensitive to this problem with the result that their professional literature devotes considerable attention to the "listening" problem. Apparently the teaching of listening is as important as that of delivery in oral communication. The result is that considerable attention is being devoted to research in "listening," but with results thus far not as productive as had been desired. In other words, we know relatively little in a scientific way about what causes people to listen or not to listen.⁷

THE MECHANICS OF HIERARCHY AS SOURCE OF NOISE

The concept of "noise" as a communications factor in management was borrowed from the engineering analogy, chiefly electronic systems. When Hoover Dam was contemplated in the 1920's it was necessary to solve the problem of how to transmit electrical current 300 miles without uneconomic loss. The problem was eventually solved through research with such effectiveness that, as this is written, negotiations are under way for

⁶ Statement attributed to John L. Gushman, in *The Manager's News Letter* (New York: American Management Association, February 20, 1963).

⁷ Giles W. Gray and Claude M. Wise, *The Bases of Speech*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1959), pp. 60-65.

the transmission of power from the Columbia River to Southern California, a distance running upward of 600 miles.

Size as a noise factor

Thus size is perhaps the principal structural or mechanical factor in producing "noise." There is a loss in transmitting messages in any large system, and this is the problem that had to be solved in the transmission of electric power over long distances. The familiar designation for hierarchical communication is "through channels," a concept which requires messages to go through intervening levels rather than take a direct route from a lower level to a higher, or vice versa. The very mechanics of "channels" creates the noise of delay and filtering.

One of the principal problems of governmental bureaucracies the world over is the requirement that documents (messages) be authenticated or "endorsed" at each successive level. Some bureaucracies are paralyzed by virtue of the fact that important writings have piled up on the desks of assistants. This is particularly true of the so-called "developing" countries, especially those where the bureaucracy has been trained in the law in the French *droit administratif* tradition. But it is not absent in former colonies of Great Britain where the literary tradition of educating the civil servants, coupled with a prestige status of the civil service, has left a residue of hierarchical inertia. Indeed, deference to hierarchical status was a device for social control in colonial administration.

Hierarchical inertia

This term is applied to the slowness of action, the difficulty of getting a decision, which afflicts many organizational situations. If one takes the view that communication is action and that the message is the basic building block of organization, it would follow that such inertia must be related to the communication setup. Certainly the effectiveness of the communication network should reduce the amount of uncertainty absorption required of decision-makers. Uncertainty absorption refers to the degree to which a decision-maker has to make inferences not entirely supported by the information at his disposal.⁸ Most administrative decisions have to be made on the basis of incomplete information, which is another way of saying that the decision-maker must absorb the uncertainty. The celerity with which decisions are made must therefore become, at least in part, dependent upon the individual's willingness to absorb uncertainty. His hesitancy can become a major factor in hierarchical inertia.

But it should be emphasized at this point that such inertia may at least result from faulty mechanics of hierarchy.

⁸ For a discussion of this concept see James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 164ff.

The contemporary emphasis on human relations and behaviorism on the part of students of organization has often resulted in a de-emphasis of structure and systems. However, the rising interest in systems in the cybernetics area has perhaps served to give new prestige to structural relationships. The point is that organization planning and structural reorganization of job relationships are an essential part of dealing with the problems of hierarchical inertia. If decisions are delayed because documents must flow through several layers of hierarchy the solution could very well lie in the area of rearrangement of work flow and reallocation of responsibility for decision-making. This is the reason for the emerging function of "organization development."

When industrial hierarchies started to become unwieldy, after World War II, and when management started to worry about the supply of future executives, a new staff function designated "organization planning" began to emerge. It was sometimes tied in with the personnel function of executive development that placed considerable emphasis on a combination of evaluation and coaching, based on the belief that the major responsibility for the development of future executives should fall on the members of the executive corps themselves. The operation necessarily involved some traditional job analysis and organization charting because of the need to project future requirements. While this metamorphosis of management staff units did not emerge in identical form everywhere, there was nevertheless a certain uniformity of emphasis on the following activities:

1. a coaching approach to superior-subordinate interaction;
2. a clinical or developmental approach to personnel evaluation; and
3. traditional organization charting emphasizing the use of manning tables for the purpose of
 - a. depicting the current formal organization, and
 - b. projecting the organization of the future.

A new designation for a family of operations of which this group is a part is "organization development." It is important to the problem of communication because in a certain sense its basic ingredient is communication between superior and subordinate via personal interaction. Very casual and preliminary observations suggest that the vulnerable spot in making it operational lies in the willingness of superior and subordinate to communicate with each other.

Status as inhibitor

An administrative hierarchy is characterized by its status system. Hierarchical status carries with it authority, social deference, and the implication of followership on the part of subordinates. Indeed, an administrative

hierarchy's central and overriding characteristic is the matrix of superordination-subordination. This is a universal phenomenon in social organization which still prevails in spite of attempts in recent years to democratize hierarchy. For instance, the hierarchical structure has had to be modified in the new research establishments which have sprung up since World War II because scientists are not comfortable in a traditional authority system. It was necessary to create an atmosphere of freedom such as is said to exist in the more mature universities, and this is referred to in the new literature as "colleague authority."⁹ In such a social system deference to bureaucratic status is not absent, but it must compete with another hierarchy, namely, that of professional status. Blau indicated that professional people will consult colleagues whose competence they respect, even in defiance of rules requiring them to consult with their hierarchical superiors instead.¹⁰

It can nevertheless be stated with considerable confidence that the trappings of structural hierarchy tend to inhibit communication. People are constantly being evaluated by their superiors. Even though the formal system for rating personnel may have degenerated into an empty rite of mere paper compliance, informal evaluation nevertheless goes on. People are very well aware of this with the result that they are hesitant to express opinions that may lead to the boss to judge them adversely. Not only is the free and uninhibited expression of opinion stifled by the status relationship, but hesitancy exists in transmitting written information which may carry unpleasant connotations. As indicated above, they will on occasion even alter or withhold information which may not look good. This has often been shown to be true of data relative to measured productivity.

The committee type of management has often failed because in the past executives have not been conditioned to follow a conference leadership type of behavior. One hesitates to be too dogmatic about this because it would seem that large-scale American industry uses the committee system rather widely and that it may become the prevailing pattern of behavior, at least at the corporate level. *Fortune* recently published a profile of President M. J. Rathbone of Standard Oil of New Jersey in which the president described typical activities of a business day.¹¹ The dominant tone reflected a pattern of almost constant interaction with colleagues on the peer level, that is, fellow members of the board of directors. His behavior was depicted as consultative, and the reader gets the impression that he is a good listener, yet there is little doubt that he is a firm and

⁹ Gerald Gordon, Sue Marquis, and O. W. Anderson, "Freedom and Control in Four Types of Scientific Settings," *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 6:39, December 1962.

¹⁰ Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 99ff.

¹¹ Walter Guzzardi, Jr., "How Rathbone Runs Jersey Standard," *Fortune*, 67:85, January 1963.

decisive person; perhaps the designation *primus inter pares* as applied to the British prime minister would not be inappropriate.

The previous chapter reported on the reorganization of a medium-sized chain grocery system wherein the objective was to change the interaction pattern from one of rather martinet downward telling to one of listening to upward-directed messages,¹² followed by mutual reaction. Later in this chapter, this will receive further attention as a desirable pattern of interpersonal communication. The point is that developmental supervision cannot take place except in a social atmosphere which not only permits but encourages a feedback network between superiors and subordinates. Such a loop cannot function except where the inhibiting "noise" of status is minimized. This does not demand the elimination of formal hierarchy, but it does require that we develop a new construct of interpersonal relations.

Many persons of liberal and philosophical persuasion have value systems which cause them to react unfavorably to what some of them refer to as the bureaucratization of society. Some of these are philosophical anarchists whose strong commitment to personal freedom leads them to recoil from concepts of manipulation, management, and hierarchy. At the same time, they are for the most part resigned to the inevitability of increased bureaucratization in a world where population is increasing so rapidly. Without insinuating that their apprehensions are devoid of justification, it seems appropriate to suggest that their fears may be at least partially assuaged by devising new patterns of bureaucratic behavior in which members of an organization may look toward a maximum of self-fulfillment. This is of course the problem to which students like Argyris have addressed themselves:¹³ the resolving of the conflict between the goals of the organization and those of the individual. Perhaps the new patterns of bureaucratic living will help to resolve this conflict by minimizing hierarchical "noise" arising from the formal status system.

THE ETZIONI TYPOLOGY

Etzioni has classified organizations into three types: coercive, normative, and utilitarian. "Coercive organizations are organizations in which coercion is the major means of control over lower participants and high alienation characterizes the orientation of most lower participants to the organization."¹⁴ A prison is the most obvious example. Normative organizations are those in which there is a high commitment to a set of values, such as churches, political societies, universities, and professional socie-

¹² Paul R. Lawrence, *The Changing of Organization Patterns* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1958).

¹³ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957).

¹⁴ Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 27.

ties. The principal distinguishing feature of a normative organization is that control is maintained by commitment to a set of mutually-held values. A scientific community such as that discussed in Chapter 24 is controlled by a set of professional standards normative in nature.

But perhaps most readers of this volume will either work in or be destined to work in the type of organization which Etzioni classifies as utilitarian. "Utilitarian organizations are organizations in which remuneration is the major means of control over lower participants and calculative involvement (i.e., mild alienation to mild commitment) characterizes the orientation of the large majority of lower participants."¹⁵ Most business and governmental organizations would fit this category. This is, of course, an oversimplification of Etzioni's ideas, but it is sufficiently inclusive to permit its application to the problem of communication.

Etzioni on communication

Etzioni also has a two-part classification of communication into (1) instrumental and (2) expressive. The former "distributes information and knowledge, and affects cognitive orientation. Blueprints, technical textbooks, and experts' directives are examples. *Expressive communication* changes or reinforces attitudes, norms, and values. Preaching, praising, and expressions of acceptance are typical examples."¹⁶ Organizations are also characterized by the direction in which communications flow. Instrumental communication with inmates dominates in coercive organizations. The elite among the inmates are fed messages calculated to aid in control, but a principal direction is horizontal because the "grapevine" is very active, and there is little instrumental upward communication. In normative organizations there is a great deal of downward expressive communication, which also finds its way horizontally.

The utilitarian organization, in which we are mainly interested, emphasizes instrumental communication, and this should flow both downward and upward, the latter consisting mainly of performance reports. Vertical expressive communication is limited mainly by the degree of socialization which exists between the members of the organization. Upward communication is restricted in all types of organizations, but in utilitarian units perhaps the greatest conditioning factor is the willingness of people on the lower levels to transmit productivity data.

Etzioni summarizes his observations relative to communications by stating that normative organizations emphasize downward expressive communication; utilitarian organizations place great importance on vertical instrumental communication; and coercive organizations tend to block vertical channels while there is a prevalence of horizontal expressive communication.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

DEVELOPMENTAL COMMUNICATION

Etzioni has stated that upward communication tends to be restricted in all types of organizations, although the following observations are not attributable to him. It is the condition of the human race to be circumspect in the face of authority, especially the hierarchical authority to which we have been conditioned throughout the millennia of the past. We have now reached a stage when the shortcomings of traditional authority are being realized, and we are groping for a new theory of authority, which will preserve the good in the old while experimenting with new approaches. The advocates of the traditional approach have frequently found themselves in rather deep-felt controversy with the new in the fields of education and the handling of criminals. Thus progressive education has become the whipping boy of the traditionalists, often evoking emotional reactions based on symbol rather than fact; and the same issue emerges in the contrasting belief systems of the police and those who would follow a treatment approach in criminology.

But the most interesting phenomenon upon the current scene is the gesture toward a more permissive type of authority in certain business organizations. We have alluded in several places above to Lawrence's study of a changed pattern of supervision in a grocery chain. The basic element in the new behavior was a change in the pattern of communication behavior between the store managers and the district supervisors. It was a deliberate attempt to alter the course of historic interaction between supervisor and subordinate in three striking respects.

1. Initiation of messages by the subordinate
2. A behavior on the part of the superior characterized by listening without interruption
3. The superior's reaction to messages was to take the form of "tossing" back the ball instead of "telling"

Lawrence's study was based on a theory of "interaction" research developed by R. F. Bales and widely known through the studies and writings of Eliot D. Chapple.¹⁷ It consists of recording and analyzing the interactions of people who are in face-to-face contact. It will be remembered that the problem in Lawrence's study was to change the behavior of district managers toward store managers and thus by example the behavior of the latter toward their own subordinates. The objective was to create strength, initiative and self-reliance in the store managers who were

¹⁷ There is an extensive bibliography on this. See George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, *Personnel: the Human Problems of Management* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 239, fn. 1; also Eliot D. Chapple and Leonard R. Sayles, "The Man, The Job, and The Organization," *Personnel*, 34:8-20, March-April 1958.

to become local business men and assume the role of entrepreneur while still remaining an integral part of the chain system as a whole. This is a familiar problem in these days of emphasis on decentralization in our ever-burgeoning bureaucracies—the problem of creating at the lower action levels of the hierarchy zones of freedom in which the significant leaders can be creative, innovative, and catalytic. As stated above, this must be accomplished while still maintaining control; there must be some cement which maintains the overall unity of the organization, which counteracts centrifugal tendencies without nullifying them. The concept of the communication loop, with a mutual response to messages, and recognition of the need for messages to be originated at the lower levels as well as on top, may be the answer to the decentralization dilemma.

A new concept of job

But there needs to be a modification of traditional notions relative to the nature of jobs and hence of hierarchy itself. It is only for purposes of recall and emphasis that one needs to remind the reader of the well-known pillar of traditional job analysis—the analyst studies activities as separate from the persons who perform them. The structure of formal organization is based squarely on this orthodoxy which is especially well ingrained in the belief system of those analysts primarily interested in salary setting. Chartism in administrative analysis is firmly founded on the precept that the occupant of a position should adapt to the requirements of the tasks to be performed rather than otherwise.

A more dynamic view of organization seems to be emerging in which it is recognized that the individual shapes the job and influences the nature of the tasks which he performs. This metamorphosis of the job from a static to a dynamic entity flows from a merger of several streams of thought: (1) the interaction research of Chapple and Bales; (2) the developmental approach to organization analysis; (3) which in turn is closely related to the developmental and coaching approach to training; (4) the constant flux of job content caused by the cybernetic and information revolution; and (5) the latter's emphasis on the communication loop. This all adds up to increasing recognition of the dynamic nature of organization, in which job descriptions will place more emphasis on behavioral content.¹⁸

Yet one must guard against leaving the impression that the new philosophy of the job will lead to the abdication of stability of structure through the absence of controls in the traditional sense. There may have been a radical swing of the pendulum away from controls and toward extreme permissiveness among at least some of the early group dynami-

¹⁸ Chapple and Sayles, *loc. cit.*; John M. Piffner, "Can We Make Social Science Operational?" *Public Administration Review*, 22:109-114, September 1962.

cists, but the social science researchers now evidence a growing concern about controls and authority. It would seem that the need for strict observance of rules and the imposition of controls is greater at the lower levels, where routine tasks are performed, but that executives must operate in an atmosphere of greater flexibility.¹⁹ Furthermore, the growing concern of the researchers with problems of power as distinct from legal authority is forcing a more realistic appraisal of the nature of hierarchy and hence job structure.²⁰ All of these considerations add up to the need for a form of developmental communication between superior and subordinate.

CLINICAL INTERACTION

Developmental communication calls for a type of interaction between superior and subordinate that is somewhat akin to clinical interviewing as practiced by the clinical professions. This calls for a listening approach in which the message originates with the subordinate, the superior originating action only enough to prime the pump. This is sometimes referred to as "Rogerian" counseling after Carl R. Rogers, a noted psychotherapist who has written extensively in the field. Let us caution rather emphatically that we are not advocating that supervisors become psychotherapists. It is simply that there is in the listening approach a fundamental wisdom applicable to ordinary interactions. The supervisor is out of his sphere when he enters the realm of diagnosis, although he should be able to recognize the outstandingly manifest symptoms of disturbed persons so that he can refer them for attention by the experts.

Counseling

Under the new dispensation the supervisor is supposed to be a counselor of his subordinates. This means that he is supposed to follow, at least in general outline, the Rogerian methodology of interviewing, which primarily consists of a listening attitude. He will refrain from admonition and criticism, all the time endeavoring to draw out the subordinate, inducing him to bare his innermost feelings. This will generate catharsis and thus stimulate self-analysis on the part of the subordinate, in turn leading to self-correction. The supervisor refrains from becoming judgmental. He meets situations normally calling for criticism by deftly phrased questions which induce further self-analysis. He parries direct questions by returning the ball in an attempt to stimulate the subordinate to seek his own solutions.

¹⁹ Richard H. Hall, "Intraorganizational Structural Variation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 7:294-308, December 1962.

²⁰ David Mechanic, "Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 7:349-364, December 1962.

The appraisal interview

The individualized approach to supervisory development contemplates appraisal, this having been discussed quite fully elsewhere. An integral part of the appraisal process is the appraisal interview and it will be remembered that such interviews will not be helpful unless they are scheduled at a particular time and place. It will also be remembered that the appraisal process is not relished by either the superior or the subordinate. The Rogerian approach to interviewing described above is recommended as an anodyne to assuage the pain of criticism. The superior starts the appraisal interview with a stimulating question which is aimed toward inducing the subordinate to discuss results of the appraisal from his standpoint. The superior continues to maintain the listening attitude in the hopes that this will induce catharsis and that the subordinate will come up with a developmental plan which will correct the weaknesses indicated by the appraisal.

It is hoped that this type of superior-subordinate relationship will convert the appraisal process into a constructive experience. At its best it should take on the form of a dynamic interchange generating enthusiasm relative to the matter discussed. Both superior and subordinate should emerge from this experience walking on air rather than dejected and downcast.

The behavior of abstention

In this new type of superior-subordinate relationship the superior is constantly holding himself back; he is abstaining from advice and admonition. He absorbs heat from above instead of passing his own irritations on to his subordinates. He maintains a deportment of calmness, and evidences a high degree of emotional security, even under provocation. The word "abstention" is used in the caption above to indicate that the executive under these circumstances must exercise great self-restraint because he must abstain from giving gratuitous advice in those situations where the subordinate would be more highly motivated to follow such advice if it came from within himself.

The same thing applies even to the communication of information. People who rise to executive positions are ordinarily highly intelligent and hence well-informed. However, the psychology of learning might very well apply in this situation. Of course there has to be a certain amount of telling of information just as there is a place for the lecture in educational procedure, but there is a higher degree of carryover and motivation in learning that we have conducted through our own efforts.

This behavior of abstention does not mean that the executive must suppress all of his dynamic personal qualities and evidence a "fishy" and

utterly passive personality in all of his relationships. Quite to the contrary, the behavior of abstention involves a new type of dynamism in which the executive acts as a stimulator, catalyst, and motivator. This is a difficult and strange role and its components are not well understood nor have they been described or mapped out in a precise way. An understanding of its components will probably have to evolve as a result of research and by trial and error.

Belief systems and attitudes

People have preconceived attitudes and beliefs about how others will act and should act. These preconceived attitudes are based only partly on fact, objective research, and analysis, their source lying rather in tradition, folklore, social sentiment, birth, and upbringing.¹ One of the greatest influences upon the supervision of people at work is this tendency of people to think about other people in accordance with stereotyped patterns. People working in any particular organization will tend to think about others in the same organization along the lines of a vocational stereotype.²

Chapter 12

¹ For discussion of the anthropological concept of belief-systems based on culture, see Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture," *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 78-106.

² The concept of stereotyped thinking has many ramifications. For a partial review, see Allen L. Edwards, "Four Dimensions in Political Stereotypes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 35:566-72, October 1940; W. S. Gregory, "A Study of Stereotyped Thinking: Affective Reactions to Persons as the Basis for Judging Their Nationality," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13:89-102, February 1941; Nathan Schoenfeld, "An Experimental Study of Some Problems Relating to Stereotypes," *Archives of Psychology*, 270:5-14, June 1942; Morris Siegel, "Horns, Tails, and Easter Sport: A Study of Stereotypes," *Social Forces*, 20:382-86, March 1942; Max Meenes, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of 1935 and 1942," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 17:327-36, May 1943; Seldon C. Menefee, "The Effect of Stereotyped Words on Political Judgments," *American Sociological Review*, 1:614-21, August 1936; Alex Inkeles, "Personality and Social Structure," Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 263-67; George A. Kelly, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1955), vol. II, pp. 666-67; Stanley Schacter and Harvey Burdick, "A Field Experiment on Rumor Transmission and Distortion," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50:363-71, May 1955; Paul M. Fitts, "Engineering Psychology and Equipment Design," S. S. Stevens, ed., *Handbook of Experimental Psychology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1951), pp. 1306-09; W. Edgar Vinacke, *The Psychology of Thinking* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1952), pp. 336-38.

Two stereotypes for each occupation

There may be two stereotypes for any given occupation, one based upon the habitual and ingrained belief system of those who are members of the occupation, and the other a stereotyped manner of thinking that outsiders have toward a particular vocation. In the tension that often arises between technical staff people and the line, each side tends to have a stereotyped view of the other. Take the case in which the top echelon has informed a line organization that a production specialist is to be attached for the purpose of eliminating costly production bottlenecks.

The line supervisors would not be human if they did not generate certain apprehensions that in turn cause them to have preconceived notions about the production specialist. They will rationalize that he will be a college graduate, theoretical and impractical; that he will do his utmost to make the line look bad in order to make himself look good; that his recommendations will overturn and upset the normal and secure mode of life; and that he will recommend the discharge, transfer, or demotion of personnel.

The production specialist, on the other hand, cannot help but know that he is being sent into a situation that is vexing to management. His experience and vocational knowledge tell him that he is likely to find certain situations with the following factors present: (1) faulty organization, layout, and work flow; (2) obsolete production techniques; (3) failure to weed out superannuated and incompetent supervision; and (4) vested interests of individuals and pressure groups. The result is that the production specialist expects to run into considerable stubbornness, opposition, resistance, and often sheer stupidity. This fact molds his vocational stereotype toward line organizations in general.

These situations lead to opposed vocational stereotypes, but it should be noted that each is logical and rational. If each side tends to conform to and behave in accordance with the preconceived stereotype that the other side has postulated for it, only friction and tension can result. The value of knowing about these stereotypes is that supervisors can adapt their behavior to situations by knowing themselves. For instance, both the line supervisor and the production specialist, by knowing what each expects of the other, can channel his own behavior away from conflict and toward cooperation.

Public opinion stereotypes

The example just given relates to a specific management situation, but stereotyped thinking prevails in public opinion.³ These stereotypes are

³ See the term as used by Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1922).

largely what the anthropologists would call "cultural in origin," meaning that they spring from the patterns of thought and behavior relating to family, social and economic status, land of origin, early upbringing and social alliances.

Opinion scales administered to different peoples in the Near East revealed that literate subjects of different countries had somewhat similar stereotypes about Americans, Russians, Jews, Armenians, English, Negroes, and Italians.⁴

The application of these concepts to administration and management was aptly pointed out by Alexander H. Leighton in his study of the relocation of Japanese-Americans at Poston, Arizona, during World War II. There he found a divided administration in which the people-minded administrators held views and employed approaches divergent from those of the finance and construction people, whose views Leighton calls stereotyped.

Stereotyped thinking on the part of government personnel in Poston caused them to miss opportunities to secure responses from evacuees upon which work depended and which other administrators less stereotyped in their thinking were able to obtain. Unfortunately, stereotyped rather than realistic thinking was sufficiently common to warp the process of converting official policies into action—with the result that cost of operation was increased while stresses on the people were made more severe and eventually reacted as additional stress on the government employees too.

It is often found that government employees believe that means are ends, with the result that those who deal in construction, fiscal matters, and bookkeeping come to value the routines of their duties more than the accomplishment of the aims for which the organization exists in the first place. Had the Fiscal Department in the Center had a system of belief that gave human nature and human reactions a place of value comparable to that allotted to details of procedures, it would never have allowed evacuee wages to get three months behind any more than it would have let its own wages get three months behind, and it would have treated evacuee complaints very differently. Similarly, when hospital supplies arrived after a three-month delay, the warehousemen would not have attempted to keep them in the warehouse for a week while they made a detailed inventory.⁵

Leighton goes on to state that the administrator must recognize these varying belief systems and conduct himself so that his own stereotype will not clash directly with both groups and individuals in the organization.

The following paragraphs attempt to set forth some stereotype beliefs held by management, the lower supervisors, and workers. These belief

⁴ E. Terry Prothro, "Cross-Cultural Patterns of National Stereotypes," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 40:53-59, August 1954.

⁵ Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), p. 309.

stereotypes are offered for illustrative purposes with the full knowledge that they probably do injustice to individuals in each category; however, they do conform fairly accurately to the belief systems held by typical members of each group. If the authors are accused of injecting their own belief systems into these analyses, any resulting controversy should stimulate healthy constructive criticism.

Management's stereotypes

Those in the higher echelons of an organization are usually there because they have manifested such qualities as drive, shrewdness, judgment, energy, enthusiasm, and ambition. Perhaps above all, they have demonstrated ability to survive in a competitive milieu, and in the business world this requires a certain hardness that is rare among men.⁶ Hence, the management stereotype flows from two sources: (1) the kind of people who find their way into top management positions; and (2) the pressures that mold their behavior and thoughts. Consequently, it should not be surprising that these men should judge others on the basis of the qualities upon which they, themselves, have been judged. Foremost among these qualities is ability to produce and survive in a competitive world. They are accustomed to being rated on their ability to deliver concrete results. The latter may be measured in the form of dollars or cents on the financial statement, or it may be the number of tons of crushed rock delivered this year as compared to last.

Top management tends to place a high value on measured production as a method of judging and rewarding others, even those at the bottom of the scalar ladder. Being himself conditioned to competition as a mode of life, and accustomed to having his own degree of success judged in terms of dollars and cents, he places rather high value on money as a motivator, perhaps overemphasizing its importance as applied to rank-and-file employees.⁷ The successful executive is also a rather energetic fellow who relishes his job, with the result that he often puts in long hours, driving at a fast pace. As a result, he becomes impatient with others who do not seem similarly motivated, and often his irritation on this point erupts in emotional fulminations against the laziness of people in general.⁸

The top management man has learned by painful experience that people

⁶ Randall concurs that the stereotype is widely held. See Clarence B. Randall, *The Folklore of Management* (New York: New American Library, 1961), Chapter 5, "The Myth of the Production Wizard."

⁷ See Elton Mayo's reference to the "Rabble Hypothesis." Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1945), pp. 34-56.

⁸ Alexander R. Heron, *Why Men Work* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 24.

have to be judged objectively on the basis of their value to the organization. The successful executive has handled scores of difficult personnel cases, many of which involve actions that pull at the heartstrings and stir deep human sentiments. These latter he has had to subordinate to the best interests of the organization as a whole. If he did not do so, the organization would not remain healthy or survive. An unconscious by-product of this very natural and justifiable trait is a certain impatience with those human weaknesses that interfere with efficiency. This partially explains why the current emphasis on human relations has ordinarily resulted from outside pressures, such as unionization, rather than springing internally from management itself.⁹

Staff people's stereotypes

The last quarter of a century has seen the introduction of staff services into both government and industry, with the result that there is a tendency toward an intellectual stereotype in contrast with the action stereotype described above.¹⁰ Staff people tend to be highly educated in some particular subject matter, whether it be engineering, finance, or industrial relations. Most staff people do more reading and are closer to the literature in the field than are their action colleagues on the line. The outcome is that the staff person is usually more in sympathy with advanced and progressive theory, which in turn makes him impatient with the line's unwillingness or inability to move as rapidly as the staff believes desirable. Hence, many staff people develop an obsession to the effect that line management is reactionary, stubborn, and often stupid.

The staff people in the personnel and industrial relations field who have been educated in some branch of the social sciences tend to be much more sympathetic to employee viewpoints than does line management. They tend to be people-minded and socially minded and may become quite unhappy about the course of events when placed in the center of a bitter labor-management controversy. Staff people often become members of the top management team, where they are in a position to influence decisions. This affects the line man's stereotype of staff people in two ways: (1) it creates a certain deference because of the staff man's influence, and (2) the line may tend to resent such influence.

⁹ Maier and Hoffman concluded in one study of human relations training "that where management is seriously interested in training supervisors in human relations practices, they must expect to invest considerably more time than is presently customary." Norman R. F. Maier and L. Richard Hoffman, "Human Relations Training as Manifested in an Interview Situation," *Personnel Journal*, 13:11-30, Spring 1960. This suggests to your authors that the training was given in response to some pressure from the outside.

¹⁰ Pfiffner and Sherwood explore the staff concept in *Administrative Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), Chapter 10.

Supervisors' stereotypes

Supervisors tend to have certain attitude patterns toward top management. There is a fairly general feeling that authority is not clearly defined, that actual authority is considerably less than is depicted in written job descriptions, and that supervisors have responsibility without authority.

Top management is out of touch with actual operating conditions at the work level, with the result that it often expects supervisors to behave and achieve in accordance with theories unworkable in practice. The double talk situation develops, wherein the supervisor tries to make management believe that he is doing what is expected, though actually he is operating in a contrary manner dictated by working conditions that management does not understand. The more intellectual and progressive type of supervisor often develops the same type of impatient-with-management complex evidenced by staff people. Thus, it has been your authors' experience that the type of supervisor who attends university extension courses voluntarily tends to become critical of what he believes to be management's unwillingness to embrace progressive personnel and supervisory practices.

There is a stereotyped supervisory reaction to workers, conditioned by the supervisor's attitude toward his own security; the supervisor should not tell or teach them too much. He obtained his knowledge and skill in the hard school of experience, and other people should do likewise. He is suspicious of the subordinate who is constantly suggesting improvement and change. The chances are that he may be one of those discontented intellectuals who are poorly adjusted to life and therefore not satisfied to continue long on any one job. On the other hand, some of his ideas may be good; and if the boss hears about him, he will blame the supervisor for not thinking of the suggested changes himself. (This last is also related to the double talk pattern in that lower supervisors are close enough to the workers to feel very much as they do about persons who attempt to attract attention by superior effort. World War II developed a symbolic colloquialism, "eager beaver," to express this.)

WORKERS' BELIEF SYSTEMS

There is a worker stereotype toward supervisors that pervades almost all occupations. Its keystone is probably a rather universal fear of the boss, more politely termed "apprehensions of authority." It is alleged that people who join labor unions have an almost universal desire to "tell the boss to go to hell."¹¹ Such a fact is alleged to account for the very high

¹¹ Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, "Motives for Union Membership," Schuyler Dean Hoslett, ed., *Human Factors in Management* (Parkville, Mo.: Park College Press, 1946), p. 186.

turnover in the lower labor categories during a stiff labor market. Workers who become unhappy about their relations with their superiors, especially where there is no safety valve for settling grievances upon the spot, simply settle the matter by leaving and finding immediate employment elsewhere.

There is also an extremely prevalent belief that supervisors like to play favorites, which in turn offers a partial explanation for worker emphasis upon seniority as a means of preferment. It also accounts for the widespread worker opposition toward efficiency rating plans and pay schemes in which progress is based upon efficiency.

Another worker belief is that management is primarily interested in profits and has few if any human sentiments. The workers probably feel that management regards them as being members of a rabble rather than responsible members of society. Prior to the widespread unionization of the 1930's, workers in the basic industries expected foremen to be shouting and cursing drivers, rather tough fellows whom Whiting Williams so aptly described in his book based on his own personal experiences in basic industries in the 1920's.¹² Under the new unionization of labor relations, foremen have had to abandon the drill sergeant behavior pattern, and this was one of the reasons for the discontent in the ranks of foremen in the early 1940's. Many of the old timers had considerable difficulty in changing their habits of supervision to conform to the altered relationship between management and labor.

It seems to be a fact that the vast majority of salaried workers and wage earners would prefer to do other things than work at their jobs. The particular type of work that they are doing seems to them to be one of the least satisfying phases of their lives. The following quotation from Peter F. Drucker may be an extreme view because of the peculiar nature of the automobile industry. Yet it would seem to express attitudes very widely held, although probably in varying degree from occupation to occupation.¹³

For the great majority of automobile workers, the only meaning of the job is in the pay check, not in anything connected with the work or the product. Work appears as something unnatural, a disagreeable, meaningless and stultifying condition of getting the pay check, devoid of dignity as well as of importance. No wonder that this puts a premium on slovenly work, on slow-downs, and on other tricks to get the same pay check with less work. No wonder that this results in an unhappy and discontented worker—because a pay check is not enough to base one's self-respect on. Perhaps the best way to sum up is by quoting a craftsman of the old school whom I met years ago. He had just decided to leave a well paid job in the automobile industry. When I asked him why he was unhappy

¹² Whiting Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 178.

¹³ Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: The John Day Company, Inc., 1946), p. 179.

in Detroit, he said, "The whole place is on relief; even if they have jobs, they still behave and act as if they were unemployed."

A very prevalent belief on all sectors of the working front is that it is not good for the individual to work too hard. Thus, the newcomer who turns out too much work is subjected to social pressure that makes him conform to the production standards the group deems appropriate. While much of this springs from spontaneous group antagonism toward the "eager beaver," there is also much honest conviction among individuals that superior effort will not be recognized. There is no sense in being creative, resourceful, and ambitious except within the confines of the boss' own desires. Therefore, the thing to do is to study him and satisfy his demands, but only to the extent necessary to keep him in good humor.

Workers are skeptical of improvements proposed by management that might seem to threaten security. The introduction of new machinery and technical methods is almost certain to encounter some resistance from the worker groups. The latter are also somewhat apprehensive of what they believe to be management's attempt to exploit them through the device of scientific management, which might bring about more production per man hour. Skilled workers resist alterations that will break down whole craft trades, such as machinists, into subordinate occupations that can be performed by unskilled persons. There is also a vague un verbalized sentiment that prevails in the social organization of workers to the effect that if they exert themselves too much, production will exceed market demands and they will be out of jobs. Hence, the thing to do is to offer resistance to speed-up in order to make the job last the maximum number of pay checks.

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE BUREAUCRACY

There is an antigovernment stereotype widely held by political and economic conservatives, including businessmen,¹⁴ chambers of commerce, the rightist press, and probably most of the middle-of-the-roaders. Indeed, the belief system about to be described probably prevails among people of all walks of life. A survey based upon interviews with a cross section of the population indicated that the attitudes held by most people about bureaucracy sprang from some experience resulting in frustration—they could not get something they wanted.¹⁵ There were complaints of official stupidity, blundering, conflicting orders, complicated routine, and rigidity. On the organization side there were complaints against overstaffing, duplication of authorities, and too many bureaus, that bureaucrats are power hungry people who interfere with liberty and personal rights, desiring to regulate every phase of life.

¹⁴ See Randall, *op. cit.*, Chapter 11.

¹⁵ Goodwin Watson, "Bureaucracy as the Citizen Sees It," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 1:4-13, December 1945.

The bureaucrat possesses an extraordinary mania for personal security and intrenches himself so that change and progress are made impossible. Bureaucracy also represents something sinister because of its very bigness, possibly the kind of thing that Justice Brandeis cried out about in his protest against large-scale organization as an increasing feature of American life. It transforms the warm, personal aspects of a once simple life into a way of life that is complex, impersonal, and cold.

Bureaucrat's stereotype

The government bureaucrat usually has his own stereotype, which is just as critical of the citizen as the citizen's view of him. This attitude is particularly prevalent in governmental activities that render some sort of social service to mankind and are largely understaffed. The bureaucrat in these instances is asking the common citizen to rise to a social consciousness that would make him bigger than his own ordinary self.

The traffic policeman knows that by strict enforcement, he can save many lives in the space of a year. Yet, the ordinary citizen resists such enforcement. The sanitary engineer and the public health administrator know that sewers and sewage disposal plants are badly maintained, yet citizens are very reluctant to provide the money necessary to construct and maintain them. Recreation experts agree that there should be a public playground within one-fourth of a mile of each child's home; yet this standard is far from achieved. Planning officials who approve the design of subdivisions tend to demand a pattern of community development that subdividers are reluctant to provide. The Food and Drug Administration insists on standards that food processors resist.

This sets a pattern of bureaucratic thought that usually is entirely overshadowed by the preceding anti-bureaucratic stereotype. Thus, the specialized bureaucrat is a specialist in a particular line of activity, and he interprets the dictates of social need. The law under which he operates has been democratically made, and as he interprets it his mandate is clear. Yet in America the law is also democratically followed, which means that observance is often quite short of what the law might conceivably expect.

In this situation, the bureaucrat who feels very deeply about the justice of his position may tend to become petulant about the citizen's failure to live up to his social obligations. In this sense, the bureaucrat is expecting the citizens to observe a code of conduct that run-of-the-mill human nature may lay down for itself in the law but fail to observe in practice.

The social service worker's stereotype

There is a family of occupations or vocations once considered to be exclusively charitable and philanthropic in nature but now increasingly governmental. These include not only social case work, both public and private, but such activities as recreation, prevention and control of delin-

quency, public health, and community social organizations in general. The leaders of thought in this field tend to be people-minded and community-minded.

Anyone who has attended conferences dealing with community problems can recall people of this persuasion who have, with emotion, insisted that human values are greater than fiscal considerations. They tend to feel that poverty and underprivileged social status are due to environment and misfortune rather than to individual laziness and irresponsibility. They favor a scientific and fact-finding approach to the cure of bad social conditions, believing in reconstruction and rehabilitation rather than in the inevitability of poverty and indigency.

The finance officer's stereotype

The belief system of finance officers can be understood only in the setting of their necessities. It must be remembered that the comptroller or treasurer in any considerable undertaking is personally responsible and bonded for the integrity of millions of dollars in money and property. The entire objective of a fiscal officer is to conserve money, supplies, and property. He knows that to do this he must set up systems of accounting and controls and internal checks so that he can trace every transaction to some record. The result is that he has a respect for paper work and records far beyond that possessed by people in other organizations and walks of life.

Furthermore, he knows, often by sad experience, that a considerable number of people will steal money and pilfer goods, with the result that control measures to prevent such eventualities must be set up. Because finance people are property conscious, they tend constantly to think in terms of savings, economies, and conservation of assets. As a consequence, their view of human reaction and motivation more nearly approaches that of the rabble hypothesis than the people-centered approach of the social workers.

Legal stereotype

The lawyer has a stereotype about administration that is more pronounced in its attitudes towards public administration than towards private management. This may be due to the lawyer's mental saturation with the British legal and political philosophy of the eighteenth century. The common law's characteristic attitude toward government featured extreme laissez faire and the less government the better.¹⁶

The trend of Anglo-Saxon constitutional development for the last 1,000 years has been to put the executive under strict legal controls and to give more powers to the legislative branch. Moreover, the genius of the law

¹⁶ John M. Pfiffner, "The Role of the Lawyer in Public Administration," *Southern California Law Review*, 20:37-57, October 1946.

tends to be conservative because it is based upon precedent, with the result that a professional methodology that is conservative in basic approach is bolstered by a traditional distrust of executive power and authority. Thus, we find that the legal mind in public administration tends toward strict construction, by which is meant that administrative officials have only those powers that are specifically created in the law.

This preciseness is not bad in itself, for it probably tends toward protection of the citizen in his personal life, but it does result in the very thing that the man in the street criticizes in bureaucracy. The lawyers who frame new statutes, constitutions, and charters know that they go into great detail in order to insure that the desired power will be granted or, on the other hand, that undesired power will be denied. The end result is more paper work and a multiplication of red tape, because the lawyer and the line officials want the route to be clear in case of litigation. Their purpose is to establish the type of record that will stand up in a judicial type of hearing.

The conflict of stereotypes

In all aspects of administration and management there is some conflict of belief stereotypes. Thus, the citizen regards the bureaucrat as being inefficient, incompetent, power-mad, and dictatorial, while the bureaucrat fumes at the citizen, first for not supporting desirable public services financially, and, second, for not observing the code of conduct that the citizen has asked the bureaucrat to enforce. The finance officer approaches the problem of public relief from the standpoint of how much money it will cost, while the social worker insists that human values should prevail over financial considerations. Management thinks that workers should react favorably to incentive pay, but the latter set their own rates of production, believing that the rate will be cut if they produce too much.

A nearly universal clash of stereotypes in the business world occurs between the credit department and the salesman. The latter is struggling competitively to sell more goods to people who do not have to buy from him. He becomes so sensitive and solicitous about the customer's good will that he becomes irritated at the methods used by the credit department to collect from customers who are slow in their payments. The credit department on the other hand tends to regard the salesman as a sentimental dupe who is constantly being hoodwinked by deadbeats.¹⁷

There is potential conflict between the legal and administrative stereotypes. The administrator thinks that the lawyer is constantly conspiring to eliminate desirable management discretion. He feels that the lawyer forever searches for reasons why particular things cannot be done, instead

¹⁷ Joseph M. Goldson and Lillian Lowe, "Manager Meets Union," S. D. Hoslett, ed., *Human Factors in Management* (Parkville, Mo.: Park College Press, 1946), p. 81.

of helping the administrator by finding legal authority for doing desirable things.

So it goes through the almost unlimited range of belief systems possessed by groups and individuals who are conditioned by their occupation, status, early conditioning, present environment, and even heredity. The coordinating type of administrator of the future will understand these stereotypes and know how they were arrived at and conditioned. Above all, he will be aware of the fact that he has a stereotype of his own, and in his dealings with others he will be tolerant of theirs.

CHANGING ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

Can the attitudes and beliefs which have seemed to become so solidified a part of the individual personality be changed? Despite the admonitions in Chapter 4, and elsewhere, that there is much to learn from pure research toward application to the supervisor's job, it must be admitted that our general theoretical base in the field of psychology is inadequate. We now have, however, gained the sophistication with which to criticize old theories, to see dimly the shape of theories to come, and we know what to look for in order to fill our gaps in knowledge.¹⁸ Within this new sophistication we can make a reasonable, theoretical and empirical case for the presence within the human being of a tendency, or need for growing in a direction that Maslow says can be summarized in general as self-actualization.¹⁹ A reasonable extension of this concept, your authors believe, is that attitudes and beliefs will change toward being generally more constructive. Attitudes and beliefs are not changed though in the sense that we change them by doing something to the person who holds them. They change because that change is fostered, is encouraged, and above all is permitted. The supervisor must be trained to understand how these changes take place. He must exist within a work climate which not only permits this change within his subordinates, but also within himself.

Supervisors at all levels of the hierarchy might well, in their efforts to influence changes in attitudes and beliefs, give serious thought to the following suggestions:

Learn to understand the behavior of people in general, not according to the formal and stilted concept of the management class, but through the eyes of the behavioral scientist. Attempt to understand what makes people join labor unions, why low-paid workers in general are addicted to

¹⁸ See Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1962), p. 141.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147. Maslow describes the sub-aspects of self-actualization as having within one's self "a pressure toward unity of personality, toward spontaneous expressiveness, toward full individuality and identity, toward seeing the truth rather than being blind, toward being creative, toward being good, and a lot else."

high job-turnover and absenteeism, and what the social and living conditions that produce the major personnel problems are.

Try to know your own people, those who work for you and those who are the object of your administration. The knowledge of these people should not be the formal and idealized one that persons in top management positions often like to believe exists. The whole problem of understanding the human structure of an organization is related to maintaining two-way communication, one of the points mentioned and discussed at greater length in Chapter 11.

Face the fact that the dominant method of securing change should be through persuasion and facing the facts rather than through fear and threats. Fear may have its place in motivating people to do that which they should do, but it should be the same type of fear that motivates management—a fear that is based upon an understanding of basic facts. For instance, there was the case of a small marginal steel plant that had become unprofitable and was about to be abandoned.²⁰ When the facts were put before the union, the workers became apprehensive about the future of their community, homes, and jobs, and decided to save the plant. Furthermore, there is probably a place for the type of fear that makes the individual apprehensive of the consequences of his own wrongdoing. However, such fear is not effective unless one has undergone the type of therapeutic change that motivates him to act properly in the future.

If you wish to influence people to alter long-established practices deeply rooted in their culture learn to work through their own leaders and groups. Thus, the Indian Service had some difficulty in getting its wards into modern hospitals because of the opposition of the tribal medicine man. Often the method of approach was to work through the medicine man himself, even going so far as to have medical doctors extend him professional courtesies and make a show of professional deference. When it becomes necessary to alter or to run contrary to long-established local customs, a factual conference in which it is carefully explained why particular administrative steps must be taken is frequently effective. For instance, when the TVA had to move hundred-year-old graves that would be flooded by the reservoirs its dams created, trained social workers first made case studies and then individual approaches to the families whose permission was needed. The graves were moved to appropriate locations, and the transfer was accomplished entirely in accordance with community practices and sentiments. When the Indian Service had to reduce the herds of Acoma Pueblo because of over-grazing, the approach was made directly upon a factual basis through tribal leaders and government. Long and arduous explanations made in widely scattered localities told

²⁰ Harold J. Ruttenberg, "The Fruits of Industrial Peace," *Harvard Business Review*, 18:285-87, Spring 1940.

just why over-grazing was causing tribal lands to erode and the top soil to wash away.²¹

Where it is known that the change cannot be made quickly but must require a period of time for acceptance, learn the techniques of planting an idea and letting it grow. This emphasizes another principle in gaining cooperation in human relations: the one who would influence must often suppress his own ego and fertilize and feed that of the one who is to be influenced. Thus, management consultants have long ago learned that opposition of an administrator to management change often can be dissolved by planting the idea of change with him and then fostering the belief that it was his own brainchild. Some have even gone so far as to impute that the one offering the opposition actually suggested the idea himself in a previous conference. When this is done deftly, it would seem to be effective in a high percentage of instances, although there may be those who might question the ethics of such procedure. However, it certainly should not be interpreted as unethical for an administrator to allow the leader of one of his constituencies to believe that he was the original proposer of an idea that the administration decided to foster and propagate.

One of the best ways of influencing people or changing their attitudes and customs is to learn of their feelings and sentiments. As indicated above, such understanding is dependent upon maintaining a two-way system of communication, free and unimpeded. It is well known that at the present time such communication seldom exists. Top management has an idealized pattern of thought that it naively expects will be passed down and accepted unquestioningly by workers. On the other hand, top management, being made up of human beings, wants good news instead of bad news and that is the kind of information it receives, except through the union line of communication. That is one reason why management does not like union leaders who tell them the unpleasant things that the whole hierarchical system of communication is designed to shield from their sensitive ears.

APPLICATION TO MANAGEMENT

The preceding discussion of belief systems and attitudes may seem to the intelligent reader to be a recapitulation of the commonplace. He may ask of what possible utility such a detailing of the obvious may be to the study of management. The answer is that the members of the groups possessing these belief systems are not aware that they are stereotyped; indeed, they are for the most part convinced that their thoughts are the one and only truth, the genuine highway to salvation.

It has become almost trite to say that a dominant characteristic of our

²¹ John Collier, "United States Indian Administration as a Laboratory of Ethnic Relations," *Social Research*, 12:282-85, September 1945.

technical age is the multiplication of technical specialists, each apparently trying to get his own independent and autonomous way. The job of the administrator is to develop coordination and cooperation among these specialists. The distinguishing characteristic of the administrator is the generalizing mind with the faculty for coordination. An understanding of the belief systems, mental sets, and stereotypes of the various groups with whom it has to deal is a vital part of the generalizing mind's equipment. It is a stabilizing influence that acts as an antidote to the type of dogmatism that disturbs equilibrium.

Riegel's study of the introduction of technological change into the manufacturing process covered fifty plants in the Detroit area, including many industries besides the automotive.²² A survey of employee attitudes conducted during the course of the study indicated that this group believed that such change displaces workers and causes unemployment. Specific cases where men had been replaced by machines were detailed with some bitterness.

It was also believed that, in addition to complete unemployment, the machines contribute to underemployment and irregular work, with resultant decrease in annual earnings. Attitudes were more marked in large and prosperous firms where the employees felt the company was already making sufficient profit. It was also strongly felt that technological improvement resulted in reclassifying the jobs downward, and therefore reducing hourly rates, and in making skills obsolete. The men were under the impression that new methods increase strain and fatigue and that speed-up adds to accident hazards.

There was considerable evidence to indicate that employees were much more inclined to accept change gracefully in those companies where management had taken pains to inform them in advance and to explain the reason for and the nature of the proposed change.²³ A successful procedure seems to be the calling of meetings, attended by employee leaders, shop stewards, and foremen, at which the advantages of change to the employee are explained. The necessity to meet competition is fully set forth, and assurance is made, when sustained by facts that employees will

²² John W. Riegel, *Management, Labor, and Technological Change* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942), pp. 1-9. Automation and technological change is the subject of much recent writing. Among the many sources, the reader is commended to: Robert A. Solo, "Automation: Technique Mystique, Critique," *The Journal of Business*, 36:166-78, April 1963; Edward C. Schleh, "Selling Technological Change as a Company's Way of Life," *Personnel*, 37:57-66, July-August 1960; Melvin Ashen, "The Manager and the Black Box," *Harvard Business Review*, 38:85-92, November-December 1960; Michael J. Jucius, *Personnel Management* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959), pp. 636-37; Ida Russakoff Hoos, "The Impact of Office Automation on Workers," *International Labour Review*, 82:363-88, October 1960.

²³ Riegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

not become unemployed. Once the improvement program is established, similar means must be constantly pursued in order to obtain employee cooperation and to minimize opposition.

One device consisted of transferring employee objectors and union stewards to the research department, where they would participate in actual development. Unionized companies found it essential to have periodical and complete discussions with union officials. Soliciting the participation of employees in improving methods was very helpful in relieving tension, but success depended to a great extent on the ability of the technicians to establish friendly and natural relations with the workers.

Here again, as elsewhere, the formula for overcoming antagonistic belief systems consisted of: (1) information in advance; (2) full and complete explanation of the reasons for change; (3) solicitation and stimulation of participation by workers; and (4) assurance that threat to personal security will be minimized. The three C's are communication, consultation, and collaboration.

Conflict, cooperation, and morale

Human institutions are pregnant with the seeds of conflict, rivalry, and tension; and management hierarchies are no exception. Such conflict situations are universally prevalent in human affairs, so that the following examples must surely recall to the reader's mind some similar incidents in his own experience. Chapter 12 referred to the vocational stereotype that causes people to think and believe in accord with certain patterns dictated by the occupation itself. A similar situation prevails in connection with the occupational antagonisms that exist in all types of organizations.

Chapter 13

As conflict—difference—is here in the world, as we cannot avoid it, we should, I think, use it. Instead of condemning it, we should put it to work for us. . . .

Mary P. Follett.¹

People ally themselves mentally and emotionally in favor of their own occupational grouping and against some rival occupational grouping. This sort of conflict situation, flowing largely from the apprehensions of vested interests and threats to security, often has little rational basis. Sentiments, emotions, and feelings of this type are generated in all human organizations. Oftentimes the conflicts amaze the outsider because they seem to spring from vocational antagonisms in areas that the man in the street believes should be closely allied in sentiment and background. In the university, this antagonism often exists between the school of business and the department of economics, the school of social work and the department of sociology, and between the experimental and the clinical psychologists. In the practice of medicine, a similar rift has frequently existed between the general practitioner and the psychiatrist.

¹Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, eds., *Dynamic Administration: the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1940), p. 30.

A dramatic example is furnished by the highly publicized resistance to unification of the national military units. Much of the rivalry between the services is deep-rooted and longstanding; for instance, the Navy and the Air Force, the Army and the Marines.²

Vocational conflicts often create problems relative to the orthodox concepts of unity of command. Thus, there is usually some friction between the deck officers and the engineering officers on a ship. This may reach the point where the captain and the chief engineering officer are perpetually hostile toward each other, such tension being felt by the crew on both sides. Legally the captain is in supreme command of the ship, of course, but he often has to be extremely tactful in his relationships with the engineering people.

Business institutions frequently evidence conflict based upon fundamental differences in purpose, one vocational stereotype being pitted against another in situations where both must work together and usually do, though not without some strife. Anyone familiar with public administration will readily recall similar antagonisms between a police department and a county sheriff's department in the same locality. Most organizations whose operations are based upon a high degree of specialization, as hospitals are dependent upon medical men, contain the seeds of strife between business management units and the specialist. The one is highly cost-conscious, whereas the other regards costs as secondary to functional objectives.

There are also many work-flow situations where personal contacts are fraught with tension. Whyte mentions in his study of the restaurant business that every restaurant has three common tension points: (1) between the customer and the waitress, (2) between the waitress and the chef, (3) between the counterman and the dishwashers.³

Tensions arising from public contact

A type of tension exists in most businesses at the point where employees constantly contact the general public directly. The most obvious example is, of course, the game continuously going on between the retail salesclerk and the customer. In certain lines of retail selling this can lead to emotion and suppressed aggression, particularly in cases where women serve women, as in wearing apparel. There the girls constantly build up feelings of antagonism that result in tensions that may be relieved in four

² See Hanson W. Baldwin's account of how the Army publicity failed to mention the small detachment of Marines on Corregidor and Bataan, allegedly in retaliation for the publicity given the Marines in World War I: "Our Worst Blunders in the War," *The Atlantic*, 185:30, 32, February 1950.

³ William Foote Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1948), p. 104ff.

ways: (1) talking back to the customer; (2) controlling the customer through various devices; (3) taking emotions out on fellow workers; and (4) crying. Whyte found the crying among waitresses sufficiently prevalent to merit discussion at some length.⁴

The tension points prevail in all forms of human organization and constitute an eternal problem of supervision. In public administration the contact with the public comes at counters where one pays taxes, applies for licenses, obtains building permits, or any of the other thousand and one occasions when the general public enters the city hall, courthouse, or federal building. The impression prevails that public employees are less skillful at controlling their emotions under these tensions than the employees of private business.⁵

Good management minimizes conflict

The fact to remember is that much of this tension can be minimized by the observance of good management practice. Whyte in his report furnishes the example of a bartender who maintained amicable relations with waitresses by the simple expedient of analyzing his job and breaking it down into component parts.⁶ (This expedient is what job instruction training courses tried to communicate to millions of trainees during World War II.) The bartender systematized his work, served the girls on the basis of "first come, first served," played no favorites, and tension evaporated. Whyte's example demonstrates *the inseparability of the tenets of good management from the practice of human relations*.

Perhaps the most familiar conflict in the industrial area takes place between the union and the management hierarchy. Usually the entrance of a union in a plant is fraught with conflict and packed with emotion. The union hierarchy is arrayed against the management hierarchy in a state of open warfare. Later, formal acceptance comes, but the cooperation needed is not wholehearted. As time goes on there is a tendency to accept unionism both intellectually and emotionally, and the two hierarchies, although remaining separate, are articulated so that they work harmoniously together as part of the formal organization.⁷ The conflict then becomes one of trying to define the boundaries between the task of management and that of the union.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁵ This is one of the most important problems in public management. Thorough research is needed to test the emotion-packed generalizations that prevail.

⁶ Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.

⁷ Symposium, "From Conflict to Cooperation," *Applied Anthropology*, 5:30, Fall 1946; for two case examples reported in some detail, see: Benjamin M. Selekman *et al.*, *Problems in Labor Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1950), pp. 580-651.

INDIVIDUAL HOSTILITY

Thus far the discussion has been directed to the type of conflict that is associated with social groups, such groups being based largely upon vocational lines. However, a tremendous amount of dissension and antagonism exists between individuals, the origins of which have been obscure, but are now being widely investigated by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists.⁸ Individual hostility flows from many complex sources about which scientists are not in agreement. Here again one runs up against the heredity-versus-environment controversy, Freudians versus the experimentalists, and the internal medicine people versus the psychiatrist. Happily the antagonisms among these groups of scientists seem to be diminishing, and the practitioners are with increasing frequency working in teams to attack the problem of deviant behavior of individuals. For our purposes it seems reasonable to assume that some hostility arises from the social situation, and that is something about which management can take action. Thus, it is now recognized that insecurity is responsible for much hostile action. Merely making this statement does not settle the problem, however. Rather, it opens up a controversy about the amount of security good for people. However, in a management situation much hostility can be removed by two-way communication and by developing a sense of belonging, devices that are often emphasized in these chapters.⁹

Communication and catharsis reduce hostility

The supervisor should encourage a relationship of intimate communication between himself and those whom he supervises. If supervisors are conditioned to function in this manner, conflicts arising from the hostility of individuals will be minimized. Line supervisors cannot be qualified to deal with all problems of individual hostility and, therefore, management organizations must avail themselves of the services of those specialists who do possess the requisite knowledge and skills. A great deal of the work maladjustment of individuals flows from improper job placement.

Fundamentally, the answer to individual hostility is much the same as that to group conflict: namely, give it an outlet that will tend to dissipate its virulence. In the case of the individual, this is the cathartic listening type of interview in which the individual relieves his tensions by letting them pour out to a willing listener. In the case of group conflict, the process of relieving tensions is through two-way communication, consulta-

⁸ For a discussion of the frustration-aggression hypothesis see Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 39-40.

⁹ See Rensis Likert, *New Patterns in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), pp. 44-60.

tion, and participation. In other words, the best available remedy would seem to be more democracy in management institutions.

Conflict frequently centers upon a struggle for power between individuals. Adler's concepts, which have influenced our understanding of work motivation, emphasized a power motive. In general, he seemed to feel that the ability to manipulate people (through power) is inherently pleasurable.¹⁰ The leader who lets this drive, if it in fact exists, dominate his approach to leadership usually creates a great deal of hostility in the organization. The most effective leaders tend to be those persons who do not have the need to enhance their own images by the indiscriminate use of power. There is much evidence to suggest that the democratic pattern of leadership and a democratic leadership personality, such as proposed by Lasswell,¹¹ gives rise to less hostility and conflict. Supervisors should be conditioned in the spirit and techniques of coordination and cooperation.

MANAGEMENT PREROGATIVES

Perhaps the most emotion-packed issues in the area of labor relations are, and will continue to be, the galaxy of issues and subissues surrounding that indefinite and largely undefined area termed "management prerogative."¹²

The traditional philosophy of management has been that management should be judged by results and that management's methods and procedures are of no concern to outsiders. Strategic decisions made by management must be backed up by a high order of judgment. The proper use of judgment is particularly important in dealing with the human factor, because people who work vary tremendously in their ability and willingness to assume responsibility or adapt themselves to particular tasks and positions. Hence, one of the foremost ingredients of the management job has been discretionary power to utilize the services of individuals as the necessities of the organization seem to demand.

Now comes militant unionism with its demands that the bargaining contract contain provisions fettering this discretionary power of management to deal with individuals in accordance with its own judgment. The same thing happens under civil service laws, rules, and regulations, except that here the restrictions apply to persons of higher status as well as to the rank-and-file.

Another area where management prerogative is being challenged is that surrounding participation in the improvement of production. Labor

¹⁰ See H. L. Ansbacher and R. R. Ansbacher, eds., *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956).

¹¹ Harold Dwight Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 108-205.

¹² Neil W. Chamberlain, *The Union Challenge to Management Control* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1948), p. 5.

itself is not unanimous on this, as is the case in most collective bargaining issues. Some labor leaders, including many leaders of AFL-CIO craft unions, feel that they do not want the responsibility of participating in traditional management areas having to do with improvement of production. They state that collective bargaining will be injured if the union tries to usurp management prerogatives and that collective bargaining will be on much firmer ground if it recognizes that there is an exclusive area for the union on the one hand and for management on the other. The difficulty lies in determining which area is exclusively management's and which is dominantly the union's. Some unions have had to get into the production control area because of the nature of the business. For instance, in the garment industry the unions hired their own industrial engineers for two purposes: (1) to guard against the speed-up of their own members, and (2) to bring better management practices to small and weak employers who predominated in many sections of that industry. The current trend in most manufacturing fields would seem to be in the direction of labor-management cooperation along the lines of joint production committees and suggestion systems.

There is a third area that is probably more emotion-packed than the other two: the demand on the part of union leaders in certain of the mass production industries to inquire into the financial condition of the companies. This practice arises, of course, in connection with questions about the financial ability of the employer to meet the demands of the union for higher wages and broader perquisites, such as pensions and the shorter work week. It raises the question of what is a reasonable profit and proper return on invested capital. A steel industry officer during the 1949 strike declared that the steel industry had never received a proper return on invested capital. This whole question of profits and return upon capital is tremendously complicated, yet it seems inevitable that this very issue will go to the heart of industrial collective bargaining in the years just ahead. The issues revolve around the matters discussed in Chapter 6 relative to the economics of supervision. Should stockholders receive future dividends on profits plowed back into the business? What is the proper charge for depreciation? Why should there be such disparity between the compensation for top management positions and that for the rank and file? Should the books of a corporation be opened to the detailed inspection of union representatives? Should the union have some say about the manner in which the accounts are maintained? These issues are hot and strike at the very heart of one of the most prized prerogatives traditionally appertaining to management.

COOPERATION

The quotation from Miss Follett at the head of this chapter to the effect that a certain amount of conflict is healthful, if used constructively, seems sound. Competition, rivalry, and opposition produce social health,

provided institutions and behavior patterns provide peaceful means for resolving conflict.¹³ The institutions and behavior patterns that permit healthy conflict have certain similarities, although they may take various forms.¹⁴

THE FIVE INGREDIENTS OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Five fundamental ingredients necessary to permit and encourage healthy conflict are:

1. Two-way communication
2. Rank-and-file influence of policy
3. Responsible management
4. Industrial Bill of Rights
5. The rule of law

Two-way communication

First, there must be an opportunity for subordinates at all levels to speak their minds with impunity. This applies both to matters involving feelings of injustice on the part of individuals and to constructive criticism about the manner in which affairs are carried on. Management hierarchies are already setting up institutions to fill this need. Some of them have been forced by unionism; others have been advanced and installed by enlightened management. The establishment of a grievance system is an example that comes readily to mind. The individual worker is furnished channels through which he may air freely his own feelings about the

¹³ Similar concepts are expressed by certain applied anthropologists who conceive of morale as expressed in terms of equilibrium and disequilibrium: Eliot Dinsmore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1942), pp. 43-69; Eliot D. Chapple, "Anthropological Engineering: Its Use to Administrators," Schuyler Dean Hoslett, ed., *Human Factors in Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1946), pp. 271-76; Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945). See also E. Wight Bakke, *Adaptive Human Behavior, An Outline for the Study of Human Relations in Industry* (New Haven: Yale Labor and Management Center, 1949).

¹⁴ In a previous edition of this chapter there was postulated an analogy with political democracy, saying that the latter had the following five essentials: (1) legalized opposition (His Majesty's "loyal" opposition); (2) the right to be skeptical, combined with freedom of speech; (3) executive power in some sense responsible to popular sentiment; (4) guaranteed personal rights, liberties, and perquisites; (5) supremacy of the law (equality before the law). The analogy was abandoned because of a feeling that the institutions of political democracy may not be adaptable in all respects to the running of management institutions. However, it is believed that the fundamental principles of these five points are basic to good human relations in all types of human institutions, although the means of applying them may vary considerably as between an industrial corporation and a governmental unit.

variety of matters that trouble him. Where a grievance procedure is buttressed by militant unionism, the rank-and-file employee can complain fearlessly. The whole process of collective bargaining has served to open channels of communication, and the institutions arising out of it are becoming an accepted part of American culture. Even the strike and picketing have become such an accepted ritual that management furnishes heated sheds, coffee, and radio for the pickets. This procedure contrasts sharply with the violence of a few decades ago.¹⁵ Two examples of attempts by modern management to encourage upward communication are furnished by suggestion plans and the conference, the latter being used with increasing frequency. The first is an attempt to induce individual employees to think constructively about the improvement of work methods. The second is gradually creating a pattern of executive behavior that encourages subordinates to voice constructive criticism.

Rank-and-file influence of policy

Cooperation cannot replace conflict unless means are provided for the rank and file, not only to communicate their sentiments and feelings upward, but also to assure that these communications will be received, considered, and acted upon. This cooperation pertains to the extremely touchy issue of management prerogative discussed above. It seems possible to reconcile the concept of management prerogative with employee participation in policy, provided one accepts the hypothesis that there are as many levels of policy making as there are steps in the hierarchy. Policy is not something that supermen decide upon in a rarified atmosphere uncontaminated by outside influences. It is, rather, a continuum wherein there are various gradations in policy making from bottom to top and from top to bottom.¹⁶ Thus, it may be appropriate for the higher echelons to establish the policy that coffee hours shall be staggered, leaving it to lower supervisors to determine how they shall be staggered and even permitting individuals to voice their preferences. Each is a policy matter in that a plan of action has been determined, the nature of the action being appropriate to its scalar level.

The influence of the rank and file upon policy has been institutionalized in several cases, a self-evident example being collective bargaining. American management institutions have unquestionably tended toward increasing use of conference and deliberative methods in recent years. The idea was expressed by Mary Follett when she said that conflict should be resolved by ascertaining the law of the situation. In discussing such concepts as "the illusion of final authority," "the law of the situation," "con-

¹⁵ Mary Heaton Vorse, "An Altogether Different Strike," *Harper's*, 200:50-57, February 1950.

¹⁶ Paul H. Appleby, *Policy and Administration* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1949), pp. 15-24.

structive conflict," and "power-with" versus "power-over," Miss Follett states that power does not reside with formal position in the hierarchy, but with capacity to act in accordance with the law of the situation. The latter is ascertained through conference, communication, deliberation, study and research, opinion of experts—all of which will usually suggest a plan of action that is apparent to all.

Such a plan is often self-evident, without the necessity of putting it in words.¹⁷ Hence the person who occupies an executive or supervisory box on the organization chart is not required by that fact to assume the role of an omnipotent demigod with unimpeachable judgment. He is rather one who confers, listens, reads, deliberates with advisers and subordinates, and then acts, rarely upon the basis of instinctive hunches, but usually as the facts of the situation dictate.

Apprehensions relative to the use of consultative methods are groundless if it is realized that most management conferences should not reach decisions through the counting of hands or heads. It should be more widely emphasized in management training that conferences will conform to a pattern if permitted to develop naturally. This pattern will usually go through the following steps: (1) the subordinates fail to speak up in the presence of their superiors; (2) when after a time they become sure that they can speak up with impunity, a conflict situation arises not only between the superior and his subordinates, but perhaps between members of the group; (3) if proper time is permitted to elapse, these conflicts will subside through their own catharsis, and the group will begin to come together through its own thinking; (4) the law of the situation will emerge; (5) it will usually not be necessary to take a vote to ascertain the dominant opinions and sentiments, because they will emerge in the form of a "sense of the meeting" rather than in a vote of "yeas" and "nays." A new day in human relations would emerge if management people could be made to realize that this pattern is inevitable and that their apprehension of meetings where there is free discussion by subordinates is groundless.

Responsible management

Third, there is no question but that the business management of America is coming to feel an ever-increasing responsibility for those broad matters of policy that fall under the category of the general welfare. The discussion of executive responsibility offers certain complexities because both industrial and governmental executives have responsibilities to several constituencies. The matter would be much simplified if the responsibilities of executives were wholly to their own employees, but employees constitute only a fraction of the total constituency.

¹⁷ Metcalf and Urwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-286.

The business executive has responsibility first to the stockholders or owners; second, to the board of directors; third, to the customers; fourth, civic responsibility as a prominent and powerful community leader; and, fifth, responsibility to the employees working in his plant. It seems fair to say that industrial executives of the nineteenth century often tended to emphasize the first type of responsibility to the exclusion of the others. There are happy signs that this is changing, however, and such change is a good omen for the future of industrial relations.

In discussing the responsibility of the industrial executive, it seems necessary to distinguish between a responsibility based upon the mechanics of hierarchy and one that springs from a sense of duty to all five constituencies listed above. Indeed, it would seem that good internal human relations with one's own employees must spring from this broad base in which there is an identity of interests among stockholders, top management, middle and lower supervision, the rank-and-file employee, and the community. "The men who constitute American management will be the ones who will solve the problems, seize the opportunities, and meet the challenge of the future. . . ."¹⁸ He must be increasingly aware of his complex responsibilities.

This multiple responsibility cannot be discharged effectively unless higher management is more closely in touch with the sentiments, feelings, folklore, culture and ideology of its rank-and-file workers than has been the case in the past. This involves the establishment of effective two-way communication and the wider participation of the rank and file in the affairs of the industrial community. The latter entails a recognition that there is such a thing as an industrial community in which workers are human beings possessed of pride, aspiration, human dignity, and multiple other human facets, which in the past have too often been suppressed or ignored. What we are saying is that good human relations are inseparable from a sense of social responsibility on the part of top executives, and that this responsibility must be sincere rather than an improvised facade.

Industrial Bill of Rights

The fourth ingredient in management democracy pertains to the efforts of rank-and-file employees to insure themselves against arbitrary treatment, to be recognized as human beings, and to obtain recognition of certain rights and perquisites. Humanity is constantly striving for security and stability; individuals are digging in, creating vested interests, and stratifying organization for purposes of security. They organize into pressure groups, whether the American Federation of Labor or the American Medical Association, designed to enhance occupational status and security

¹⁸ Richard C. Smyth, "Executive Compensation: Gearing the Program to Today's Needs," *The Management Review*, 50:9-14, 70-79, January 1961.

and to obtain advantages, rights, and perquisites. It is quite understandable that management should be fearful of the tendency toward stratification, because it goes to the heart of the controversy relative to "management prerogative."¹⁹ Management people are undoubtedly justified in their demand that responsibility should be accompanied by authority; that they should have the power to make required policy decisions; that such power involves a certain flexibility that cannot be straitjacketed without injuring managerial effectiveness. An organization cannot be healthy or survive outside threats unless those in the top echelons have the authority to make strategy decisions and make tactical moves that may interfere with the personal comfort, security, and fortune of individuals.²⁰

The controversy goes to the roots of the ills that now afflict humanity rather universally: the people of the world demand security, but there are certain economic, biological, and social barriers to its attainment. The controversy as to whether security is attainable has gone on for centuries and still waxes hot. To be dynamic and healthy, an organization must deny certain individuals the status they desire and may even deprive them of the status they now possess. Thus, security must be relative if organization is not to stratify and stagnate. Yet our institutions will continue to adapt themselves to the current demands for security. As each new step is taken to establish security for the rank and file, there will be those who raise warning cries of impending danger.²¹ Whether for ultimate good or eventual calamity, the current experiments pointed toward economic security will continue their course of trial and error. If predictions relative to increase of productivity and national income prove valid, certainly there seems reason to believe that the nation will be able to afford considerably more security for the average American than had hitherto been thought possible.

The problem, then, will be to achieve the nice balance between personal security and management prerogative that will keep organizations healthy. The world will always need dynamic and adventurous leadership, even the type of boldness that some would designate as recklessness. But these leaders will have to exercise their special gifts for venture within the framework of an industrial society that respects the rights and dignity of low-status people. There will be those who despair of reconciling management prerogative with individual security, but the experience of man-

¹⁹ The same controversy raged in British constitutional history over the preservation of the royal prerogative. The British saved face by retaining the form while transferring actual power; thus there is still a royal prerogative, but it is exercised by the king's ministers who are responsible to parliament.

²⁰ The senior author discussed this problem, with considerable sympathy for the management viewpoint, in "When Organizations 'Go Soft,'" *Personnel*, 23:374-83, May 1947.

²¹ Peter F. Drucker, "The Mirage of Pensions," *Harper's*, 200:31-38, February 1950.

kind in other areas indicates that a healthy and efficient balance can be attained.

The rule of law

The fifth element in management democracy demands that rules be established so that supervisors must treat everyone equally. It is the guarantee against arbitrary treatment, the bulwark against supervisorial tyranny and despotism. Designated as "industrial jurisprudence,"²² its institutions include grievance procedures, bargaining contract provisions, civil service hearing procedures, rules and regulations, and labor laws. Indeed, it embraces the whole gamut of laws, procedures, and devices that have sprung up to establish a reign of law within management institutions. The laws have often tended to interfere with management prerogative by forbidding the disposal of a problem case by arbitrary discharge. Under civil service in many jurisdictions this use of law applied, not only to the rank and file, as in unionized industry, but also to the higher status personnel as well. The viewpoint taken in this book is that this situation is an accomplished fact that must be faced realistically and that it is not a prop to be leaned upon in order to evade responsibility.

MORALE

Morale is an elusive subject of which there are as many definitions as there are definers, for it means different things to different people. Psychologists would say that morale relates to the individual, while the sociologist would probably see it as a group phenomenon. The applied anthropologists have approached it in terms of social equilibrium and disequilibrium. Pollyannas might view morale in terms of happiness and optimism, while social reformers might see it as associated with the standard of living and poverty. Freudians would probably in some way associate it with emotional stability, while the religiously inclined would probably interpret morale in terms of one's spiritual faith and fulfillment. Because of the difficulty of defining morale and the multifarious approaches to its study, we have purposely avoided discussing it up to this point.

An operational definition

Rather than define it in terms of specific characteristics and ingredients, it would seem better from the standpoint of the problems of supervision merely to attempt an operational approach. Hence it seems sufficient to say that *high morale is a complex combination of many factors that make*

²² Sumner H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 1-8.

people do what the organization expects them to do. Conversely, low morale is a combination of factors that prevent or deter people from doing what the organization expects them to do.

"The probability of arriving at a generally accepted definition of morale is unlikely."²³ Any definition would constitute an over-simplification. The same would be true of generalizations about the relation of democracy, autocracy, and laissez-faire to morale. However, in this volume, in general, the hypothesis is advanced that a particular type of leadership on the part of supervisors will go far in attaining the goals of the organization. In general it consists of combining good management practices with a communicative, consultative, democratic approach to dealing with people. This does not overlook the fact that in particular situations, such as in battle, a certain authoritarian control may be demanded.

Measuring morale

There are roughly two ways of measuring morale, depending on definition. If one accepts the operational definition set forth immediately above, then morale can be measured by checking the extent to which the organization is achieving results—measurement of productivity, profits, or other norms of goal achievement.

If, on the other hand, a social science definition is accepted, another approach is called for. One such definition "is the amount of satisfaction achieved through being in a social organization." In this case morale is tested by attempting to get at the sentiments and attitudes of employees toward the organization by means of the opinion polling technique now so familiar to most people. Sentiments are known as emotion-packed attitudes. Where the indicators point toward low morale it may often be desirable to conduct an attitude survey, which may be of the polling type or may follow the method of the depth interview often used in termination interviews to find out why people leave voluntarily.²⁴

The conclusion to be reached concerning morale is that low morale can be raised by supervision, the pattern for such alteration being implicit in all of the pages of this book.

²³ William G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management: A Behavioral Science Approach* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 87.

²⁴ For discussions of attitude-survey techniques, see Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 760; Maier, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-56; A. W. Kornhauser, "Psychological Studies of Employee Attitudes," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 8:127-43, May-June 1944; R. S. Uhrbrock, "Attitudes of 4,430 Employees," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 5:365-77, May 1934; William B. Wolf, *The Management of Personnel* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 328-29.

Training for Development

FOUR

A philosophy for training

“Let’s face it: 95 per cent of our training dollar has gone down the drain. Knowledge without application is worth nothing to a profit-making organization.”¹ This statement is difficult to refute and not only when applied to profit-making organizations. It is also difficult to refute a second contention of the writer of the article that training methods are fine in theory, but not so good in practice.² These statements might well have been made by too large a percentage of management people from far too many organizations, both public and private. Though it may rightfully be said that training has come of age, it can seldom be stated that training is an integral part of organization. Training is more often an appendage—more often something the supervisor sees as an extraneous chore rather than as an aid to making the job less difficult and more satisfying.

Chapter 14

DePhillips and his associates suggest that training, to act as an integrating mechanism, must both be understood and utilized by the people exposed to it, and by the people who will work with the trainees upon completion of their training.³ This suggests a function beyond that of merely being an integral part of the organization. It suggests that properly used, training can become an integrating mechanism for the organization. It may be the only function of organization which can truly constitute a mechanism for integration of the complexities of modern organization. Such a suggestion is either not understood, or is completely rejected, and thus the whole concept must be examined in more detail.

¹ Martin Rossman, *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1962. Rossman quotes Jay Beecroft, director of sales and training for Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.

² *Ibid.*

³ Frank A. DePhillips, William M. Berliner, and James J. Cribbin, *Management of Training Programs* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 45.

AN INTEGRAL PART OF ORGANIZATION

Method notwithstanding

The methods by which training is conducted are important, but ordinarily receive stress beyond their relative importance. Improper methods, as might have been causative in the opening example, can constitute rationalization for the management structure into which a sound training philosophy has never permeated. Before method, and program, there must be an acceptance, which in a very simple way has to do with doing the job correctly or not doing it at all. Training poorly done can be as expensive to the organization as not doing any training at all. The manager who suggests that training is not appropriate at top management levels because training methodology has not reached a high enough level of sophistication for doing that job is probably rationalizing. If he is not so doing, it can safely be suggested that training is not an integral part of his organization. Rather, his organization is using training to attempt to accomplish certain goals not readily met in other more conventional ways. The attempt is generally ineffective.

Training is not a method with which to solve otherwise insoluble organizational problems; it is rather a ubiquitous something without which organizations do not long survive. Training is more than method, more inclusive than program, more than personnel development, and is more than an aid to problem solving. As a ubiquitous something it can be likened to a religion, but in being whatever it is, it is not a burden on organization. In its ultimate form training is a process through which the attempt is made to maximize human effort toward the more effective interdependence necessary for effective group effort. The supervisor, at all organizational levels, must understand and facilitate the process.

The training course

The training course consumes too large a share of the total training program of the organization. In addition, the very term course suggests the didactic approach to a problem that consists primarily of changing behavior and hopefully consists of changing attitudes. If the hours expended on the training effort are mostly devoted to listening to logical explanations of the basic psychological concepts, in the case of supervisory training, related to directing the efforts of others, the training philosophy guiding the effort is ripe for diagnosis and treatment.

The training course might come close to filling the need, however, if it is extended to include an integrally designed follow-up. Adding the follow-up will often answer the previously reported lament that training is good in theory but not so good in practice. That follow-up, as suggested in a United States Civil Service Commission publication, consists

of two parts. The first part involves, again in the case of supervisory training, assistance to the supervisor who has completed the training in the form of guidance and support back on the job. The second part involves inspection for the purpose of seeing how well the trainee transfers the learning to the work situation.⁴ These are often neglected aspects of the training.

The course in its traditional wrappings, even with follow-up, however, falls short of getting the job done if it constitutes a major part of the training effort. That is, it can't do the proposed job if it is calculated to go beyond behavioral to attitudinal changes. There must be some way to get closer to the "gut level" as the term is often used in training circles. The concept of *clinical supervision*, discussed on other pages, and the approach most widely known as sensitivity training come closer to attaining the desired ends than does the course, no matter what its appurtenances. The point is that in developing a philosophy for training in an organization the development must go far beyond the traditional ideas generally associated with the training effort. In arriving at a philosophy for training, the organization must shed some of its traditional fears and borrow heavily from the behavioral sciences. Thus, training, to fulfill its potential as an integrating factor in organization, must borrow from the concept of clinical supervision.

Organization for training

A basic consideration in organizing for training is that the training be a line function. If the basic responsibility for training lies within the line, recognizing that there are many varying opinions as to what line and staff are,⁵ integration of training becomes more probable. In fact, there is little to distinguish the concept of training from the concept of supervision.

In this matter, Haire speaks of the superior shaping his work force. He suggests that in the process of directing his subordinates and in teaching them what is to be done, the superior is bound to be a trainer.⁶ As one begins to digest Haire's suggestion, it becomes much easier to see how the training function might be organized so as to make it an integral part of the total management of organization. The training that the supervisor does is the most significant of all the training effort. Other types of training such as courses, rotational assignments, outside seminars, etc., can be only supportive of this mainstream activity.

The formal training structure, as it is reflected in the office of the train-

⁴ United States Civil Service Commission, *Training the Supervisor*, Personnel Methods Series No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 1956), p. 87.

⁵ For a discussion of this point, see Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnel, *Principles of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1955), p. 136.

⁶ Mason Haire, *Psychology in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1956), p. 96.

ing director, should be based on activities that will aid and support the supervisor in his efforts to instill the kinds of attitudes and skills in his subordinates which will insure production. This effort of the training director should help to give positive answer to the question that Haire proposes of whether the supervisor will do the training consciously and properly or haphazardly.⁷

INDUCING CHANGE

Basic task

When reduced to another kind of a basic definition, training is an effort to induce change, and those involved in the process may be described as change agents. If change were not the basic training task, then the effort expended in the name of training would be difficult to justify. Two facts basically make efforts toward change necessary. The first is that man is constantly changing the industrial and governmental processes with which he is involved. One of the greatest of these changes is the introduction of the so-called information technology through the use of the high speed computer and its ability to process large amounts of information. "One major effect of the information technology is likely to be intensive programming of many jobs now held by middle managers. . . ."⁸ This, if it happens, is sure to lead to radical changes in administrative practices, if indeed, it has not already caused major administrative practice changes. Such change is not implemented by osmosis; it must be trained for.

The second factor requiring change has to do with the generally accepted idea that man is still some distance from the point where his ability at interpersonal relationships is perfect. Though this be true, it is not man's nature to sit quietly in the midst of tremendous technological change without attempting to make the necessary accompanying change. Perhaps the drive for such social change comes as a drive to reduce the tensions brought about by the interpersonal inability, or perhaps there are many other ways to diagnose the problem. Whatever the stimulus-response patterns involved, the preponderance of evidence indicates that man is greatly motivated by his social needs, and that, "They are the needs which find their end product in a particular relationship with other people."⁹

As related to a philosophy for organizational training, fulfillment of the social needs of employees constitutes more than a "be kind to employee" movement. Perhaps those who draft such a policy need not be consumed with the matter of improving interpersonal relationships, but those who

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Harold J. Leavitt and Thomas L. Whisler, "Management in the 1980's," *Harvard Business Review*, 36:44, November-December 1958.

⁹ Haire, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

neglect to consider the forces represented may well be leaving the base off the pyramid that constitutes the total training effort.

Two-way contract

Organizational training is far more complicated than it is generally thought to be. Among the considerations that make it so is the matter of employee contribution to his own growth and development. Though the literature includes a great deal which suggests that management and supervision have a grave responsibility for the success of the organization, mention of the obligations of employees in general is seldom found. A philosophy for training should not be silent in the matter. It should contain specific references to the expectations of the organization. The organization literally enters into a training contract with the employee, and in becoming party to that contract, the employee assumes certain responsibilities.

As in the psychoanalytic contract,¹⁰ the training contract must be two way, for if nothing is asked of the employee toward fulfilling the contract, the probability is that nothing will be gained for either party to it. The old cliché that says if students haven't learned, the teacher hasn't taught, is just that—an old cliché. The idea so expressed, however, is often included in training philosophy, for there is certainly less stress generated in firing training directors than there is in asking that employees contribute to their own growth and development.

In one of their training programs, Bendix Radio Division of the Bendix Aviation Corporation asked the trainees to make a rather sizeable contribution. In their middle management training scheme, it was intended to subject participating managers to concentrated study and stress of the kind they would face on the managerial job. The trainee was asked to make decisions pertaining to case studies and then was graded on the basis of the objectivity and logic of his performance.¹¹

In reporting the Bendix experience, Barry and Coleman suggested that change did result from the training. They had one top executive tell them that change, as a result of the training, was most noticeable in the engineering departments. The executive explained that prior to the training program the engineering managers tended to base too many of their decisions solely on technical criteria, where presumably they did not to the same extent after the training.¹² Though it is not here suggested that stress situations should be built into training philosophy, as at Bendix, it

¹⁰ For a discussion of the psychoanalytic contract see Karl Menninger, *Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958), pp. 30-31.

¹¹ F. Gordon Barry and C. G. Coleman, Jr., "Tougher Program for Management Training," *Harvard Business Review*, 36:117-25, November-December 1958.

¹² *Ibid.*

is suggested that the Bendix experience was one which did have elements of the two-way training contract in it. From that standpoint the Bendix Radio training program described may well have ideas valuable to the building of a training philosophy for organization.

Measuring change

Measurement of the changes brought about by training is the weak link in the chain of events which might eventually lead to more effective training. This kind of measurement is usually referred to as the evaluation of training. The difference in the terminology is significant. To evaluate the training effort, management takes steps such as asking the training instructors for their evaluation, asking the trainees for their opinion of the worth of the training, checking with the trainees at specified intervals after the completion of the training, checking with the supervisors of the trainees for impressions of the worth of the training as shown through the post training behavior of the trainee, etc.

These efforts are commendable but lack accuracy. In illustration, the case of the trainee, a manager ordered to the training, might be illustrative. A two-week training session has come to a close and the trainee has been given an evaluation questionnaire to fill out. Very possibly, his thoughts would run: "Give me the darn sheet of paper and tell me what you want to hear. I have a plane to catch, and if you think I am going to tell the company they wasted all this money on me, think again. Let's see, excellent is putting it on a bit thick. Where do I mark good on this sheet?"

A valid measurement of the actual change brought about by any training is difficult to obtain, is time consuming, and might, all too often, lead to the observation that the training failed to bring about a significant change. Therefore, the training man is leery of measurement because scientifically sound measurement can often jeopardize his position.

As an organization attempts to develop a sound philosophy of training, it might be well for that organization to consider the many advantages of using the experimental method for evaluating its training effort and for measuring the change brought about by this effort. "It is a paradox that management will invest large sums of money in training programs and at the same time will fail to determine experimentally whether such investments are worthwhile."¹³

PHILOSOPHY AND POLICY

In the normal course of events, companies and governmental departments are instituted and staffed, and then that staff is trained. That is, the staff is trained if the time honored tradition of recruitment of staff trained

¹³ DePhillips, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

by some other organization is not followed. The training that does take place in the embryonic stage, however, is generally of a borrowed variety. The questions of training philosophy and policy are seldom faced until the general management approach of the organization has solidified. The attention that is paid to these matters usually arises out of the needs of supervisors to know clearly of the parameters within which they can make the training effort.

Because of the sequence of events leading to explorations of needed training philosophy and policy, it is usually rather difficult to get the shifts in management thinking that will accommodate training as an integral part of the organization. Nevertheless, the adjustment must be attempted, for training policies communicate much more to the members of the organization than they might seem to. Communicated is not only the matter of parameters, but also in the policy the employee sees the phrases that tell him whether or not management actually feels that training is a line responsibility. A training policy also gives the employee an idea of whether or not the matter of training his subordinates has been delegated to him in any real degree. As he feels this delegation exists, he may also feel delegation exists generally.

Management philosophy and the resultant policy in the field of training must clearly show that supervisors, and not training men, are basically responsible for the development of the human resource, as does this excerpt:

Managerial and supervisory personnel are accountable for the development and utilization of the human resources even as they are accountable for the execution of other administrative instructions, rules, and statutes.¹⁴

From whence training policy?

The instance of a training policy being issued within the framework of an overall organizational philosophy is a complicated matter, complicated far beyond the usual simple statements of organizational philosophy. Training policy that would best emanate from deeply considered training philosophy must be tied not only to the matter of training. Training policy must stem from, above all things, the carefully considered needs of the human resource of the organization.

If a training policy is to be operative, especially in an organization where the supervisor or foreman is considered to be basically responsible for training, it would logically follow that the policy must stem from, not only the needs of the general employee, but also from the basic needs of the supervisor as those needs relate to his training function. The question of just what those needs are and how they relate to the organization is not of simple concern. To say only that for better functioning, the organ-

¹⁴ Marshall Fels, "Organization for Training in California State Government," *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 15:4-13, December 1961.

ization should consider the needs of the human resource, both superior and subordinate, in determining training policy, can lead to as much trouble as would come to pass if those needs be completely rejected.

Deeper considerations

In wrestling with the question of training philosophy and policy, serious consideration must be given to the needs of the individuals populating the organization. "Every human being has certain needs which are at the very heart, or very depth, of his personality."¹⁵ But this consideration must not be of a superficial nature. Training can serve as one of the vehicles for fulfilling those needs, but again, only if those needs are significantly assessed. If not, training can be one of the most frustrating experiences the employee faces in his organizational life. In developing training policy, expressed needs are not necessarily to be considered the needs that are directly met. They may only be symptomatic of other more complex needs. This is apparent in the outcry of the employee group about the training they do not get. When traced to its roots, this outcry is often found to be unrelated to the training itself, but related to the recognition being trained gives to the trainee.

Though there is little use in belaboring the question of needs at this point, it might be well to make one more point in support of the contention that the needs question is not as simple as it might appear through examination of the current management literature. In a stricter definition, a need, according to Freud, is a stimulus of instinctual origin arising from the organism itself and not from the outside world.¹⁶ This definition should serve, at the very least, to remind that what is sometimes assessed as being a need of the employee is often a projection of a felt need of management. For instance, in a list of needs, one often finds the idea that foremen have a need to be leaders. It might be more accurate to say, "Management feels that foremen *should* need to know how to be leaders."¹⁷

PHILOSOPHY AND THE PROGRAM

In the literature related to training in organization, little is said about training philosophy, though much is written about training programs. To attempt to discern the philosophy of any one organization, the only place to turn for making the appropriate examination is to the training program operating in that organization.

¹⁵ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 32.

¹⁶ See the definition of need in Leland E. Hinsie and Robert J. Campbell, *Psychiatric Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1960), p. 479.

¹⁷ Argyris, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Attitude reflected in the program

In the Bendix Radio training program for middle management, previously mentioned, there was ample evidence to indicate some of the significant attitudes of the company toward training. "Top management felt that . . . the middle managers must further develop their inherent strengths and sophistication to be better prepared for future challenges and opportunities in the division."¹⁸ This statement indicates a faith in the basic abilities of Bendix employees. It also indicates a favorable attitude toward the concept of self development. The vehicle chosen for development suggests an attitude toward training methodology, for that vehicle was an exposure to concentrated study and stress.¹⁹ Thus it would seem that this organization had thought enough about their training to be able to put into words something that was at least partly a statement of philosophy.

The attitude that development is self-development is reflected again in a statement by an official of Chevrolet Engineering. "Basic to all our activity has been the recognition that employee development is largely an individual matter."²⁰ An extension of the attitude was that though development was an individual matter it must be stimulated, and thus Chevrolet Engineering decided to stimulate development among supervisors and others by instituting several types of specific in-plant training programs.²¹

These brief references tend to show, if not the philosophy, the attitudes that are reflected in the training approaches and programs. Programs such as these reflect rather complex considerations reduced to simple statements and serve to stimulate others building training programs to make the necessary examination of the more complex philosophies concerned. Or, they should. The very statement that development is an individual matter must evolve from a long, hard look at the nature of the human resource. An overall training philosophy should come to pass only after such an examination. Once arrived at, that philosophy should be set down, probably as an opening statement in a training policy.

Philosophic base or expedience

Training in its struggle to come of age, has seldom been productive of published statements of philosophy. A training director in any given organization is often a lonely soul. The searching examination that he

¹⁸ Barry and Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ J. Garfield Williams, and others, "Managerial Development in an Engineering Organization," *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 15:20, April 1961.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

might feel integral to building a sound training program is all too often held suspect by his management. Management wants results. In fact, management wants immediate results from its training programs. It will not consider the possibility of negative results, despite the fact that in other programs it launches, management is careful to weigh both the advantages and disadvantages, the negative and positive results of those programs.

It is not so in training. Management generally considers only the possibility of positive results from the training effort. This sort of thinking constitutes the real philosophy within which the training director operates. It is a philosophy of expedience. The training director is well aware that management wants immediate and revolutionary results rather than more realistic long-term results.²² Too, he is well aware that his management is not generally able to talk about the sort of evolutionary process that is the only path to change in employee attitude. The training director thus is forced to look at those kinds of approaches to training that most resemble panacea. He in turn is accused of fadism, for he must keep changing to a fresh approach so that the trainees go away from each training session enthusiastic about what they have just heard.

However the charge of fadism basically reflects the attitude of those making it, and sad to say, those making it are often in high policy-making positions. That attitude often is, in the first place, the force which caused the training man to resort to pure fadism, forced there by a pressure consisting of loss of employment.

One of the first casualties in many companies during recessions such as we have just finished, or the recessions of 1958, or 1954 is the training department which has so patterned its activities and budgets that it carries itself in an almost wholly expendable category, even though the results of its efforts may have long range benefits to the firm which employs it.²³

The training director is most often the keeper of the training philosophy. The fact that he is constitutes a clear indication that his organization does not have a training philosophy. Despite the fact that the training man operates from a philosophy, or rationale if you will, which is sound, he can seldom stem the drive of expedience. If, on the other hand, he is guardian of a philosophy he has helped the organization develop, he is in far better position to ply his trade. The training philosophy must be felt by management. It must be one that recognizes behavioral change as an evolutionary process.

²² Lyman K. Randall, "Management Development Reproached and Reapproached," *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 16:27, January 1962.

²³ George S. Odiome, "Training for Profit," *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 15:7, July 1961.

MANAGEMENT SUPPORT OR MANAGEMENT INVOLVEMENT

It has become a truism that little good will result from changing a supervisor's behavior to that which does not conform to the expectations of those for whom he works. Subordinate leaders²⁴ tend to pattern their behavior after that of their superiors. If those at the top carry on in the traditional manner of liking training if not involved in it, their subordinates tend to look on involvement in training as unwise. Even if the subordinate feels a strong need for such involvement, he may well think it expedient to shun it. The expedience he feels is closely related to the problems of expedience the training man is plagued by. If it be true that top management must, for the sake of an effective training program, involve himself in philosophy building, he then must also involve himself in the kinds of training experiences the subordinate is asked to participate in.

Involvement in "top-level" training

Hierarchical levels normally make the division within the total training program. The worker, so-called, is involved in skills training, the supervisor is involved in supervisory training, and the manager likes to be associated with top management training. He might even prefer to have his training called executive development. The suggestion that training be so structured as to include a vertical cross section of the organization brings forth loud cries of anguish. These cries come not only from the executives, but also from those at subordinate levels. In structuring training so as to separate different levels of the organization, that structure seems to serve the basic purpose of removing the threat that the mixing brings. However, if as Koontz and O'Donnell suggest, the common element in training at all levels of an organization must be exposure to and the evaluation of experience with practical issues,²⁵ it is then impractical to hold the training in isolation for each organizational level.

There is good reason for having some of the training for top managers separate from other supervisorial²⁶ training efforts, but this cannot be done to the exclusion of the interchange of information through the training process. As the process of training approaches being an integral part of

²⁴ At this juncture, no attempt will be made to define the point at which management begins in an organization. Management for these purposes can be thought of in the oft described phrase that management is the function of getting things done through others. For a discussion of this point, see Koontz and O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁵ Koontz and O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

²⁶ Remembering, of course, that supervisory responsibilities are still held by top management.

the organization, and an integrating factor in organization, the efforts made at exchanging information become a part of one process. Staff meetings, for instance, wherein there is an attempt to exchange information from level to level are often abysmally lacking in the qualities that constitute sound group dynamics. Top management training tends to become an experience through which a manager reinforces his feelings of difference from those at other organizational levels. Interlevel training, on the other hand, tends more to become an experience in which the manager, and the others involved, have the opportunity to see the effects of their own behavior, and, in the case of the behavior having less than the desired effect, try out new behavioral patterns.

Involvement in the training of subordinates

Most training men are quite familiar with the problems of working with a management that supports them, and strongly. They have often heard the admonition that management supports their efforts one hundred per cent. Go to it, Mr. Training Director and get the supervisors trained for they are the backbone of the organization. This kind of support is built on the premise that behavior is rational, as management sees rationality. It envisions a supervisory training program buttressed with well spelled out rules and regulations with which to suggest to the supervisor the behavior that management expects. Training of this type helps, but it fails to deal with the emotional aspects of man's attempts to operate within the organizational setting.

Furthermore, the emotional and motivational aspects of man are not defined rationally.²⁷ These aspects of organization are far better dealt with in an interpersonal sense. The training session with superior and subordinate both in attendance, becomes the vehicle toward interpersonal competence. Hopefully, the gains made in a training session thus constructed will carry over into all other aspects of daily work where relationships between people determine the quality of the product concerned.

Though the gains may carry over, as into staff meetings, these activities should also have a training orientation. They should have, regularly at the beginning and periodically for all time, someone present who will look at the process²⁸ and report it back to the group. In this way the participants will have their behavior mirrored, and can if so motivated take steps to improve their interpersonal competence. It is not too unlikely that in a situation where both the superior and subordinate are having interpersonal difficulty, it is this process observer who can help them on their way toward the practice of clinical supervision.

²⁷ Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 32.

²⁸ Looking at the process meaning looking at what transpires between people in the meeting, such as the rejection of the subordinate's suggestion by his superior.

THE SUPERVISOR'S TRAINING ROLE

Business men and their training directors feel they cannot afford the time and money to consider the probable theories which attempt to explain the ultimate goals of training, nor are they much interested in the synthesis of training knowledge, when they can find in their laboratories the evidence to prove the validity of the immediate problems that must be solved.²⁹

Because this is the situation most often found in organizations, few have taken the time and effort required for arriving at a training philosophy that adequately gives reasons for designating the supervisor's role in training as being either superficial, at one extreme, or basic at the other. It takes a searching philosophic examination to determine that role adequately, for the consideration cuts across all organizational bounds and across the boundaries of many researches of various academic disciplines.

Line responsibility

A basic consideration toward the delineation of the supervisory role is that which suggests training to be a line responsibility. Though this concept is generally paid lip service, there is evidence to indicate that often it is only accepted as ammunition for the line staving off the onslaught of staff encroachment. The prevalence of the training course suggests the concept to be no more than that. Too, the supervisory job is so often a working leadman sort of job that it becomes difficult to think that many seriously believe their own words in the matter. Actually, most organizations are all too willing to abdicate the troublesome responsibility that they see employee development constituting. Thus we see the rise of training departments employing a great variety of instructional staff and having a payroll that becomes suspect at the first sign of budgetary trouble.

Training personnel can logically serve only one function in organization. That function is to support the line people in their training efforts. If this support requires the course approach, so be it. The course must be, however, closely knit with the basic training effort as made by the organization's supervisors. Supervisors must be totally involved in the training, from needs determination to evaluation.

A problem

The tremendous variety of tasks normally given to the supervisor constitutes a great problem for him as he makes an honest attempt to carry out his training responsibilities. This difficulty is a very strong reason for not examining training in isolation, but rather for examining it in context. As the supervisor looks at the kinds of results that management asks of

²⁹ DePhillips, and others, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

him, he also looks at the kinds of activities that will help bring those results. Training is not too often the activity best calculated to bring them about in the least possible time. Firing the less efficient workers, if he still has that prerogative, pressuring his people, or even "pitching in" to do some of the work himself is more likely to speed the results.

In this merry-go-round, training falls by the wayside, for even if the supervisor understands the real nature of the training process, he rejects it out of the knowledge that it cannot bring, in the majority of cases, the speedy results called for. If on the other hand management sees training as an integral part of the supervisor's job, sees it in relationship to the total kind of job assigned the supervisor; and in relationship to the total organizational effort, training is more likely to be an automatic part of that job. Then, even if it is not a management tool that brings about speedy results at any one point in time, the training given at some other point in time will help result in greater speed toward the stated goal. Training philosophy must not only reflect sound assessment of the needs of the human resource, it must also reflect an understanding of how training might best fit the overall management picture in organization.

The role

Persons in supervisory positions can be conditioned to behave and perform in their relations with others in a manner that will produce the best results as related to overall goals. Assuming this to be true and assuming those goals are reasonable, supervisors can be conditioned to practice a role described as being clinical supervision. Within this kind of role lies the practice of training as more than a line responsibility; it is more specifically a supervisory responsibility. In this context training takes on a new and much more significant meaning. It becomes a catalyst toward making the organization a place in which a group of persons interrelate with such a high degree of success that the overall goals of the organization are met with the least wasting of precious emotional energy.

Under these conditions the supervisor is less of a doer and more of a change or catalytic agent. His role will not only include assessing and meeting the needs of his subordinates through training and other techniques, but will also be one of striving to have the degree of emotional stability that will permit him to accurately assess his own strengths and weaknesses, use the strengths to advantage and improve in the weak areas. He will devote the bulk of his energies, not to doing, but to helping others effectively do. Most of what he will be engaged in is now best known as training. However, as training wins a place as a full partner in the management process, the name may be changed to one which will permit a more satisfactory wage being assigned the function. Any training philosophy must eventually reflect a stand against the frag-

mentation of administration and management as it is now practiced in organization. It must reflect the belief that the supervisory role is more that of change agent than doer.

The supervisory role thus described has left out one important factor, for to be an effective catalytic or change agent, the person assuming this role must be able to also assume the role of others. "The control of the action of the individual in a cooperative process can take place in the conduct of the individual himself if he can take the role of the other."³⁰ Supervisors in their attempts at better communication make this role assumption with the ultimate goal of more effective development of their subordinates. Role assumption in this instance might be illustrated as being in contradistinction to giving intellectual recognition to the feelings, emotions, passions and sufferings of others. It is an attempt the supervisor should make if he is going to practice clinical supervision. He must empathize.³¹

THE PART EMPLOYEES PLAY

Despite the fact that the training philosophy here proposed lays major stress on the role of the supervisor, it by no means suggests that employees are not required to contribute their full share of energy input. It would be ridiculous to contend that the supervisor, even with strong top management support and involvement, can supply the full "motivational power" needed. Part of that power must be supplied by those who also consume the fruits of the effort needed to make the organization effective.

Organization can be, and is, viewed in many different lights. It does, however, basically constitute an input-output system. Though much is made of organizational goals, these are all too often wisps of notions floating merrily about on the verbosity of that part of the organization having nothing more concrete to deal with. Actually the input of any given worker may not seem to have any relationship to a goal described as supplying the needs of society. That input need not be seen as having any such connection as long as it legitimatizes itself by adding to the output of the organization. The point is that the employee must make substantial input contributions so that marketable output is achieved.

Training is a case in point. No training program can be successful unless the employee partaking of that program gives to it. A training philosophy must reflect this as it must reflect the need for pointing out the lack of input by the trainee into the training program, should that condition

³⁰ George H. Mead, "The Social Foundations Functions of Thought and Communication," A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, eds., *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), pp. 21-22.

³¹ As used in psychiatry, to empathize means to place oneself in the position of the patient, to experience, in a vicarious way, those feelings which the patient has.

exist. Lack of employee input in the case of training often exists, but is seldom dealt with in evaluation of the training effort. Failure to deal with as important a factor as this can be ruinous to the training effort.

Training is threatening

The responsibility of the employee for his own development through training does not escape the complexity that exists in all matters having to do with the human resource. The threat that training may constitute for the employee is a strong factor towards complexity in the matter of employee development. Training may be threatening because it attempts to change set and comfortable behavior patterns. Then again it may be threatening because it is structured around the expectations of management, which expectations the trainee feels he may not be able to fulfill. Many a career has been hampered by failure to perform up to the expectations of a management sponsored training program. There is the additional possibility that the trainee feels he has been singled out for training because he has not been performing as he should be. Being in a training program seems to many to be a reflection on their competence. All in all, judging from the behavior of adults in training programs, the probability is high that those asked to take training are threatened.

DePhillips and his colleagues discuss some of this behavior. They mention the boredom that may exist, the employees who dribble in, the inappropriate humor that crops up, the sleeping participant, the so-called smart remarks that sometimes fill the air, etc.³² These kinds of behavior can be coped with, to a satisfactory degree, by the competent trainer, but the handling of them does not reduce threat; it is more likely to increase it.

Reduction of status. Along with the threat constituted by training, the trainee may also see his status reduced through attendance at training sessions and programs. Achieved status, which is extremely important to the social self, describes one's place on the prestige scale. A successful employee achieves a certain status because of the way he performs his job. In very few training programs can he add to that status by successful completion of the training, but in almost any training program he runs the risk of losing status by failure to perform to a standard that is usually far different than that demanded of him in his on-the-job performance.

It is not only success or failure in the training itself that may affect status, but also that which goes on outside the training. If a less seasoned employee performs well in the trainee's job during his absence, if his segment of the organization performs successfully without his job being filled, or if he doesn't exhibit greater competence upon his return to the

³² DePhillips, and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-52.

job, status can be affected, as he sees it. Status may also be affected as his co-workers see it.

The part employees play in training should be positive in these matters. They have an obligation to trade the "we didn't even miss you" remarks for those which connote an interest in what good the training might have brought the recipient. Any thought that employees have about training being a waste of time should be expressed, not in negative, do-away-with-training terms, but in positive terms suggesting the form and shape they think useful training might take.

The atmosphere

It is not being unrealistic to suggest that employees have an obligation to help make training successful. To be realistic, however, it must be recognized that getting the required energy input of the employee toward his self-development is impossible in some organizational atmospheres. If the organizational atmosphere is not conducive to it, employee growth will not take place to any significant extent. The difference which must be pointed out is that between an atmosphere conducive to employee growth and an atmosphere that permits growth.³³ Related to training, the question becomes one of the interrelationship of the organization's training philosophy to the overall organizational philosophy. To run the most effective training program, the organization must be one in which those in supervisory positions can both insist upon employee input toward growth and can rest assured that the employee will operate in a climate that permits growth.

In such an atmosphere there must not exist the usual fear of mistake making. Growth can seldom take place, during daily work or in a training situation, without the incidence of error. As one would hardly expect a physicist to reach the sought after formula without having made mistakes on the path to it, so too one cannot expect that complex behavioral patterns will change without mistakes being made along the way to that change. Training philosophy should include a sophistication in the matter of making mistakes, an integral part of growth through training.

CAN TRAINING BE THERAPEUTIC?

Much that has been said so far suggests an assumption that training can be therapeutic. It is quite true that in the past training has been a rather poor relative to the organization embracing it. All too often training has been given because it was faddish to do so. With too great a frequency the head training position has been filled by a reject from a more "important part" of the organization. In a great many instances training has

³³ For a discussion of this point see Argyris, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.

been an ill-advised attempt at doing something never adequately defined.

This is now of little significance, for the knowledges and skills are at long last available with which to do a more effective job. The job now becomes one of gradually upgrading training programs so that they can fulfill the partnership organizations are beginning to hold out to them. Training can be therapeutic, at least to a degree, once it escapes the image it once projected.

Training becomes therapeutic through its connection to what has been described as clinical supervision. It becomes therapeutic in a special, not the traditional, sense.³⁴ Training is not in a position to become that instrument through which social deviance is treated nor is it suggested that organizational deviance be so treated. The term is used to give emphasis to the sort of superior-subordinate relationship in which both partners to that relationship have the opportunity to grow. It takes a certain skill and attendant behavior on the part of the supervisor to achieve this condition, but in no sense asks of him that he become a lay analyst.

In the term deviance there is carried the suggestion of some kind of standardization. Through some range of the described behavioral continuum in question, the relative maladjustment is less than what society prescribes professional treatment for. Those within what is the so-called normal range are those for which growth, a continuing aspect of all human life, can be aided by the practice of sound supervision and training. Thus it is suggested that within the limitations described, training and supervision have the potential for being therapeutic.

³⁴ Therapeutic is broadly defined as pertaining to the treating or curing of disease.

Individual approaches

Basically there are two approaches to organizational training. These are the group and the individual approaches. Training employees on an individual basis is less formally practiced and is seen as more time consuming than group training. Whether or not it is more time consuming, and thus more expensive, is not the central issue of this discussion, however. Basic to the consideration of individual approaches to training is the matter of integration of the training process into organizational life, and the inescapability of employing individual approaches to training therein.

Chapter 15

"People act differently—if you will, unpredictably—because of different environmental experiences. These differences, in turn, cause each person to view the work situation in a manner not quite like his fellow employees."¹ Because of this differential perception, attempts at modifying behavior through training must be individually keyed to some extent. The reader is cautioned that though this be true, there is a range of similarities in employee behavior, and all of the developmental effort for an individual does not have to be unique.

Development should be approached from both the individual and group aspects. Individual because of the individual character of the employee and group because, "group membership itself may be a prized possession or an oppressive burden; tragedies of major proportions have resulted from the exclusion of individuals from groups or from enforced membership in groups."² Training in groups can help man adjust to that which is difficult in gaining group membership and thus help insure that

¹ William G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management: A Behavioral Science Approach* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1926), p. 77.

² Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, "Issues and Basic Assumptions," Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds., *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers), p. 35.

membership on the one hand and on the other assist him to ease whatever discomfort membership may cause.

Sacred, an appropriate description

The theory of supervision under examination is not a theological one. It does not, however, lack belief in the dignity of man. Part of the reason for employee development being approached individually is that the employee, in a broad sense, has but one sanctuary in a modern complex society. The remaining sanctum sanctorum left to him is constituted by his private thoughts, of which the portion relative to the job skills he holds are basic to his development potential.

Individual approaches to training are, in fact, individual only in the sense that they are designed for an individual employee. Someone, in attempting to determine of what that training might consist, must seek entrée into what may well be a sacred area for the employee—his beliefs about the skills and knowledges he possesses. To do so and to subsequently suggest that change is needed tends to constitute irreverent treatment. Despite this possibility, the probability is that the superior-subordinate relationship can be a more secure sanctum than is the group relationship for the subordinate.

The realities of modern group experience are not . . . always pleasant to behold; and it is perhaps partly for this reason that, despite his obligation to examine every sort of belief, even the philosopher shies away from them.³

Relationship with superior

At the very basis of the reasoning terminating in support of stress on individual approaches to training, is the concept of the superior-subordinate relationship as the nucleus of organizational life; a relationship in which supervision is clinical supervision. Though it was previously stated that individual training is practiced less than is group training, the statement needs clarification. Vast amounts of individual training takes place within the superior-subordinate relationship. The trainer in these instances is, all too often, much more qualified as a technician than as a teacher.

Thus the subordinate inevitably learns many things that do not contribute to his development or to the greater effectiveness of the organization. He often learns the folkways of the informal organization including the behavioral patterns that will preserve his membership in that group. Though most of the training received is of dubious value to the organization and to the employee's growth, it cannot be denied that this kind of learning may be essential to the employee's rise in the organization.

³ Theodore Brameld, *Patterns of Educational Philosophy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950), p. 423.

In any case, this informal teaching is usually given on an *ad hoc* basis. It has no plan, its methodology is weak and it is not often related to the actual needs of the recipient. To accomplish effective teaching within the superior-subordinate relationship, the superior must himself be trained for this task. He must learn ways of effective performance evaluation, must learn of the most effective behavior in such a complex relationship, and must come to grips with the fact that the subordinate's job exists in two different lights—as he perceives it and as the subordinate perceives it.

SUPERVISOR AS A DEVELOPER

Argyris⁴ suggests that though it is more pragmatic than profound, there is a clinical procedure intuitively practiced by persons having good human relations. He suggests that this clinical procedure can be taught to supervisors within certain broad limits. The practice of clinical supervision, in fact, can be taught, and when it finally becomes a way of life for the supervisor he may be said to be practicing "good human relations." It seems however that the training experiences which stimulate him toward this kind of behavior must be of a design more rigorously worked out than one which merely emulates the practice of other successful supervisors. The behavioral sciences have gained far too much sophistication than would allow any supervisory training design to ignore their findings. The superior-subordinate relationship and the training for those who operate within that relationship must be the object of scientific research and application.

Self-understanding

A basic objective of supervisory training is greater self-understanding. Gaining self-understanding does not in any way suggest self-analysis, which at best is considered only to be adjunctive to the psychotherapeutic process. It rather suggests an ability to understand whatever substantive matter there is in the training as it might be put into operation by the individual being trained. Because of this dimension, the content of supervisory training programs will come more and more from the research findings in psychology, anthropology, sociology, social work and medicine. The amount of research and investigation being carried on in these fields is constantly increasing. The social sciences are beginning to venture out of their ivory towers and go into the market places and factories, where people work and live, which after all is the only place where scientific investigation of interpersonal relations can be carried on.

Training the developer

Supervisory development efforts have been with us for a long time. They well may constitute the best of organizational training programs.

⁴ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 77.

The one glaring deficiency they have is that of concentrating on the mastery of information. A breakthrough in this effort has come in the form of sensitivity training which is an approach to human relations training aimed at getting people to feel and behave differently with reference to the day-to-day handling of human problems.⁵

Because this subject is treated in some detail at a later time, it seems sufficient to suggest at this point that, as a developer of people, the supervisor must be highly trained for performing the function. The training involved must be more than an effort to get what may constitute for him a long list of nonsense syllables. Training of the type called sensitivity training holds promise for going beyond memorization toward behavioral change. But whatever the name given to the training of a supervisor, the greatest probability for his successful training will occur when his development as a supervisor is basically approached as an individual matter within his relationship with his own superior.

EMPLOYEE EVALUATION

Individual approaches to training stem from some type of employee evaluation.⁶ As are the approaches to development that follow, evaluation is approached individually. Though the traditional philosophy of evaluation has been competitive and punitive, it is suggested that a better philosophy would be one which embraces terms such as constructive, therapeutic, and clinical.

Identifying potential

To feed potential into the organization requires an ability to identify that potential. It is the responsibility of overall personnel administration not only to select persons qualified to perform in various roles, but to take part in the development of the employee after selection. In these efforts emphasis must be placed upon that which goes on in the primary work group, the interaction of superiors and subordinates within the organization, and the relationships of persons in the organization to "outside" organizations such as the union.

In other words, identification of potential does not take place on the

⁵ Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, and Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 124.

⁶ Note that employee evaluation is used rather than performance appraisal. Though many react strongly to "attempts to play psychologist," separating the whole employee from his work performance is almost impossible of accomplishment. For an interesting discussion of performance appraisals, see: Phillip R. Kelly, "Reappraisal of Appraisals," *Harvard Business Review*, 36:59-68, May-June 1958.

basis of certain selected character traits. The criteria must be developed as a result of a searching look at the milieu in which one of the most important factors pertains to the supervisor, his perceptions and his behavior. The supervisor and supervision in general have a large stake in selection and must be a part of it.

Realistic ceilings on potential

Few are the employees who will admit, even to themselves, that they have a skills ceiling beyond which they cannot function adequately. Nor are there many supervisors who relish the task of telling a subordinate that he has reached such a ceiling. Thus the organization has, at all hierarchical levels, persons operating in positions that require skills beyond the potential of the person filling the position. The problem is compounded by our American social system, which has been characterized as an open class system. "With respect to occupations this is evident in the strong hold which the myth of upward struggle from poverty to riches has on our folkways."⁷ The problem of an even sharper discrepancy between actual achievement and level of aspiration may have to be faced as economic opportunities begin to be restricted.⁸

This is not by the way of suggesting that recognition of ceiling is impossible. It is difficult to recognize, and once recognized difficult to deal with. But it must be dealt with, as is ultimately possible if the approach does not become an unrealistic, though convenient, matching of supervisory impressions of abilities with lists of characteristics that have been developed as prerequisites for a particular role.⁹ Rather, it becomes a matter of clinical supervision through which the superior can express his doubts congruently. To such an expression, it becomes possible for a subordinate to react in many ways toward solving the dilemma, as perhaps through a healthy rationalization or an effort which in the long run might dispel the superior's doubts.

Self-identification

This is a phenomenon which occurs when the superior, in a superior-subordinate relationship, "projects his own personality upon another and then proceeds to admire himself as he appears in the other person."¹⁰

⁷ Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952), p. 541.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 541-42.

⁹ A great amount has been written about executive and managerial characteristics. For a rather complete list of observed characteristics, see: Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955), pp. 355-61.

¹⁰ Leland E. Hinsie and Robert J. Campbell, *Psychiatric Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1960), p. 670.

It has been the source of many problems of employee evaluation, even to eliciting the kind of charges that Whyte¹¹ makes in his well-known dissertation about men in organization.

If the supervisor does not have a fairly accurate understanding of himself and his reactions to others, his efforts at identifying potential, evaluating employees, and subsequently developing employees will go for naught. His potential and performance in these areas should be an integral part of the counseling he receives from his superior. Clinical supervision is not to be practiced only at the first level of supervision of the organization, it must extend through all levels of the hierarchy.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

"The most common and widely accepted method of training employees in the skills necessary for job performance is on-the-job training."¹² It may be carried out in a variety of ways, but consists of literally walking the employee through a designated operation until he has mastered the procedure. Though it can be carried out by a master mechanic or skilled worker in most any line of work, it will probably achieve the greatest success if done by the supervisor. That is to say, within the framework of clinical supervision concept, on-the-job training within the superior-subordinate relationship gains a number of advantages. These advantages consist mainly of an opportunity for observation of performance by the superior and of becoming a part of building good interpersonal relationships.

On-the-job training usually refers to some area of skills training. The term is used when referring to training in a variety of machine operations, for training in a number of clerical skills, and for training people in any number of so-called repetitive tasks. The approach, though used in employee training efforts through executive training, does not usually carry the same title for rather obvious reasons. These reasons notwithstanding, the techniques employed in on-the-job training have broad applicability to training at all levels of organization.

On-the-job supervisory training

A survey of the appropriate literature would not reveal the use of this terminology. It might easily be applied however. Presupervisory training efforts could well employ the technique. For instance, journeymen of promise might be given responsibilities of a supervisory nature through

¹¹ William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956).

¹² Frank A. DePhillips, William M. Berliner, and James J. Cribbin, *Management of Training Programs* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 299.

a spectrum of increasing responsibility toward the time when they are appointed to supervisory positions. The two most broadly employed patterns of presupervisory training are to give potential supervisors group training before they are actually slated for promotion or to give them group training after they have won promotion but have not actually taken over the job.

An on-the-job approach to this effort would offer a number of advantages. In the first place the person who mentally wrestles with the concepts of supervision before he has had any experience seldom profits because of his lack of understanding of how the concepts are put to practice. In the second place, even though the better participative approaches to training are used, it is very difficult to reproduce a lifelike laboratory in which to put the concepts to trial. A combination of the group training and on-the-job training, in proper sequence and with proper timing, adds a realistic dimension to the presupervisory effort.

COACHING

"This is the man-to-man guidance, instruction and leadership that historically has been the prime means of managerial development."¹³ Expressed somewhat differently, "Coaching involves the development of managerial know-how through careful counseling and direction on the part of the immediate superior."¹⁴

Coaching is not generally considered to be on-the-job training. Though these two training approaches are quite similar, the reasons for using the different titles are valid. The primary differences between the two are a matter of the difference in the skills being taught and the difference in the relationship of the principles. As the above definitions clearly state, coaching is used to upgrade managerial skills. These managerial skills appear in the job content of many levels of jobs in varying amounts, starting with those managerial skills necessary for competent performance at the first level of supervision.

Coaching is guided experience in which one man, usually the superior of another, makes a conscious planned effort to develop the other. It is focused on the job of the subordinate and utilizes the work itself and the problems related to that work in an effort to improve job skills and to increase technical understanding. The vehicle for doing this consists, not primarily of techniques, but rather of the relationship between the superior and subordinate engaging in it. Coaching starts with an appraisal

¹³ United States Civil Service Commission, *Training the Supervisor*, Personnel Methods Series No. 4, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 1956), p. 87.

¹⁴ Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnell, *Principles of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1956), p. 377.

of performance and proceeds through the point where the parties concerned are satisfied that the mutually agreed upon goals are reached.

COUNSELING

Employee counseling came into prominence during World War II, when in both government and industry central staffs were established to take care of the personal problems of employees as well as the problems of personal maladjustment in the work situation. That counseling involved a wide variety of problem areas from housing to inability to get along with one's mate. The line which restricts organizational responsibilities for counseling from a range as broad as this is not as yet agreed upon. If, however, counseling is best done within the superior-subordinate relationship, and if practiced there, its content must be restricted if for no other reason than lack of time. The supervisor must supervise in a manner which will motivate his employees to their best effort and to do this he must get involved in listening to personal problems to some extent. The point of no return occurs when this kind of activity consumes time beyond which production might suffer.

Counseling is every supervisor's job

Employee counseling in an organization is best done by a combination of counseling by the supervisor supported by the counseling activities of a specialized staff. Those who would place the counseling job exclusively in the hands of specialized staff counselors reason that it is a complex professional occupation which should not be engaged in by anyone not thoroughly prepared. Indeed, it is argued that the line supervisor is an amateur at this sort of thing and may actually, though unwittingly, cause harm by dealing with the personal affairs of people. To counter this argument, it must be stated that there is no intention to make the supervisor a therapist in the professional sense. All that is intended is to humanize the superior-subordinate relationship.

Some of the enthusiasts in the counseling field tried to make their job separate from the personnel department itself on the theory that people will not talk freely and thus accomplish real catharsis if the counselor has a position of authority in the hierarchy. To again counter a contrary viewpoint, it is to be pointed out that much which has previously been said suggests that the hierarchy should be conditioned to permit, encourage, and foster a relationship between superior and subordinate that would break down the dams barring communication between them. The fundamentals of good interpersonal relationships can be so instilled and inculcated into an organization that to act contrary to them would be unnatural.

The superior-subordinate relationship

This relationship will ultimately become the nucleus for all individual approaches to training, and especially for counseling. Basically the nature of this relationship as perceived or evaluated by the subordinate affects his job performance, a proposition which adds strength to the plea for strengthening the relationship.¹⁵ Coaching within the relationship should help the subordinate understand how his supervisor perceives his performance and that the supervisor understands the possibility of deficiencies in that perception. The subordinate should be brought to a clear understanding that the coaching is devoid of punitive overtones. This does not mean that agreement will always be reached or that the superior will abdicate his right to command. The ultimate production responsibility belongs to the supervisor; the constituted authority is his and he is not required to practice laissez-faire supervision. Operating within areas of agreement is integral to practicing clinical supervision, and so operating does not suggest the lack of decisiveness in supervisory action.

Counseling technique

Inept counseling can be very dangerous. Even the most skilled professional occasionally loses a client through suicide. The technique employed by the supervisor must be one he can master—one which does not require an ability beyond that which the supervisor possesses. Many argue that the approach the well-selected supervisor might best use is the so-called nondirective method.¹⁶ To the uninitiated this technique may seem to be little more than passive listening, for with it the person being counseled is encouraged to do most of the talking and the counselor most of the listening. The counselor may be heard to give forth with little more than an “educated grunt,” or reflect an expression of feeling, through an entire interview. He is not, however, a passive participant, but is strongly involved in the problem at hand, spending most of his energies attending to understanding the problem. The supervisor as counselor strives to create a permissive atmosphere, permissive in that the employee feels free,

¹⁵ The proposition that performance of subordinates is so affected is the subject of a study carried on at the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. The experimental results generally support the proposition, or hypothesis. See Bernard P. Indik, Basil S. Georgopoulos, and Stanley E. Seashore, “Supervisor-Subordinate Relationships and Performance,” *Personnel Psychology*, 14:357-74, Winter 1961.

¹⁶ The concept stems from the client-centered, or nondirective, therapy associated with the name of Carl Rogers. Client-centered therapy is a type of therapeutic counseling predicated upon the belief that the client possesses inherent potential for growth which need only be released.

perhaps for the first time in his work life, to express himself as fully as he is capable of doing.

OTHER INDIVIDUAL APPROACHES

Individual approaches to training, it must be remembered, do not consist of approaches which necessarily put the recipient into some kind of isolation. The term is used mainly to differentiate them from group training approaches. In addition an individual approach may be said to be an approach which gives the person assigning the training an avenue for assigning training to his subordinates on an individual basis. Some of the approaches which follow do just that. The training that, in these cases, is assigned to an individual as part of his development may involve training given in a group situation.

Tuition refund

Reimbursing an employee who takes and successfully completes training for which there is a fee, is named variously, but in the majority of cases it is called either tuition refund or tuition reimbursement. Its popularity has been growing at a rapid rate. The training so given may not involve tuition, strictly speaking, but is given by an organization which levies a fee for an educational effort, that effort being the basic business of the organization. Both industry and government are heavily engaged in tuition refund programs, the largest of which is authorized under federal legislation known as the Government Employees Training Act.¹⁷ This act, fairly typical of governing rules in much of industry, provides for programs of training given outside of the employing organization, in part, for which under specified conditions the employee's agency may reimburse him for up to all expenses incurred in connection with the training.

Rotation

Another method by which the supervisor can, within his own unit or in cooperation with other units, provide individual training is the rotational assignment. This constitutes temporarily assigning the employee to function in a position other than his own. It may be done to provide the employee with an opportunity to learn more about overall operations of the organization, to help raise an ancillary skill, or for getting a better idea of his potential for future assignments at a higher level in which the skills of the other job exist. Despite the advantages readily perceived in this method, some feel that rotational assignments have serious disadvantages.

Koontz and O'Donnell discuss these advantages thus:

¹⁷ See Public Law 85-507, 85th Congress, S. 385, July 7, 1958.

There are, however, several serious disadvantages to this type of job rotation. The trainee who is being groomed for supervisory work can learn the details of these work assignments in a short time, and keeping him on such jobs for days and weeks will add nothing to his progress. In fact, the actual selection of work for its experience value is extremely difficult. Furthermore, after the trainee has been rotated through the series of jobs, no one can guarantee him a supervisory position. If none is available, the candidate is likely to leave the firm in discouragement. A related issue arises when a permanent opening occurs before the trainee has completed the cycle. Should he accept and thus abjure the remainder of the program? Or should he refuse and take his chances on a later opening? The first alternative fails to achieve the purpose of training; the second raises the risk of losing out entirely. Finally, there is always the question of resentment against trainees. Other employees may be jealous of the opportunity provided for these men; the departments offering the training may object to bearing the allocated salary expense; and others may resent trainees who are thought to take jobs away from the permanent help.¹⁸

Assuming superior's duties

A popular form of organization in the United States is the so-called one-over-one form, sometimes facetiously called the Who Minds the Shop? form of organization. In it there is usually a unit chief with only an assistant chief answering directly to him. In the instances where the chief is away from the office, the assistant chief moves into the chief's position. If an organization has a one-over-seven (for the sake of using a number) pattern of organization, it is then possible to allow different members of the organization to sit in for the unit supervisor when he is absent. If the subordinate rotating to the superior's position is properly prepared for doing this and if there exists a good counseling relationship for follow-up, this type of assignment can become one of the best of training grounds.

Directed study

Many central personnel and training staffs circulate lists of texts and periodicals for the guidance of supervisory and managerial personnel. These lists are a good point of departure for a directed study program. In addition to using texts and periodicals a directed study effort might involve correspondence courses, technical bulletins, newsletters of professional societies, and similar publications. In a directed study program, the superior and subordinate, through the counseling process, arrive at a mutual decision that a particular set of reading materials would assist the subordinate's development. They agree on the pertinent material and then set up a timetable. At agreed upon intervals they discuss the progress of the program, the applicability of the material read to the job of the subordinate, and the contribution made to his development.

¹⁸ Koontz and O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

Membership in professional societies

Professional and technical societies abound. Their very purpose for being is to upgrade the profession with which they are associated. Many companies put a premium on participation in the activities of such organizations by their employees. This sort of participation can be made more meaningful if it constitutes, in part, an individual approach to training, borne in and encouraged through the superior-subordinate relationship.

Representing the organization

Still another individual approach to training is to have employees represent their supervisors at meetings within the organization, or represent the organization in some of its outside relationships. This is an approach which requires delegation born of confidence in the organization's employees. It is a kind of activity that not only constitutes training for the employee, but may also constitute an expansion of the total work potential of the organization. As in all individual approaches, this activity should become a part of the relationship of the superior and his subordinate having the proper introduction and the needed follow-up.

Inventive approaches

The approaches named by no means constitute the universe. Supervisors interested in the development of their employees, and incidentally in being freed for more of the activities most basic to their jobs, often delegate many kinds of tasks and projects which have a developmental value for the employees they delegate to. Surveys, work simplification projects, research, and studies of various sorts may serve both these aims.

PERMISSIVENESS WITH PARAMETERS

To repeat, for needed emphasis, a permissive atmosphere does not constitute chaos. Judgments about a subordinate's ability and about those things which should be done for his development best arise in a permissive atmosphere. *However, that permissive atmosphere does not lack boundaries.* There comes a point beyond which the superior may not let behavior stray. Too, there exist circumstances which dictate unilateral action by the superior as when he feels he must ask the subordinate to participate in training for which the subordinate has no desire. The fear is more often that the supervisor will overcommand rather than be too permissive. In the instances of extremes of behavior of the supervisor in his relationships with his subordinate, those instances should constitute substance for exploration within the superior-subordinate relationship in which he is the subordinate.

Group approaches

Group approaches to training have until recently been “traditional” approaches. During the years in which training was becoming an increasingly important part of the total organizational effort, the mere weight of the training task so dictated. The methodology employed in public and private organizations was, to a great extent, that which was employed in the colleges and universities—a reliable model only up to a point. At some point in the recent history of the training movement, remembering that it was still in a formative stage even after World War II, there came the realization that in-service training had a purpose beyond what might be called “knowledge dispensing.” It was then realized that training should provide experiences which develop or modify the behavior of employees in such a way as to cause the worker to be more effective in helping to attain the goals and objectives of the organization.¹ Thus in its most recent strivings for maturity, the training movement has taken a new direction toward a model unique to training purposes, working closely with more enlightened educators from colleges and universities, but no longer emulating the educational model.

Chapter 16

A note on training versus education

Only because it has not been mentioned previously and because the reader might have the question brought to him, it might be well at this point to make brief mention of the matter the narrow meaning the word training suggests. To this point McGehee suggests:

Training, at one time, had the restricted meaning of “education in a narrow sense” or “to drill.” In modern industry, the term has become much broader than merely indicating efforts to develop sensory-motor profi-

¹ William McGehee and Paul W. Thayer, *Training in Business and Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1961), p. 3.

ciency. It now encompasses activities ranging from the acquisition of a simple motor skill up to the development of a complex technical knowledge, inculcation of elaborate administrative skills, and the development of attitudes toward intricate and controversial social issues. In spite of the fact that in some quarters the term "training" still has emotional connotation of the earlier, narrow meaning, we have been able to find no adequate substitute.²

Most dictionary definitions of education state that education is the training of the mental and moral powers, or give a similar definition using the two words interchangeably. Those who would belabor the difference tilt at windmills.

WHY GROUP APPROACHES?

Without in any sense abandoning the previously stated major premise that training is basically a function of supervision, it can also be said that no training program will completely do the intended job without incorporating group methods. However, economy of effort is not here used as a basic justification for employing group methods. Certainly economy and convenience enter the training man's thinking when he proposes methods which accommodate groups, but they should not dominate.

If there is any one reason paramount for using group methods, it is that so much organizational activity takes place in groups, to learn in isolation would be to learn incompletely. In attempting to improve or understand human nature, it is necessary to know a great deal about the nature of groups.³ What is learned in isolation, or perhaps vicariously, of the nature of groups has much less impact than does that which is experienced in a guided group situation; neither can the recipient make such knowledge operative without some sort of experimental framework within which to try out the principles given to him.

Admittedly these thoughts have more application to the kinds of group training that have as their goal some of the more complex kinds of behavioral change. Group training is used at a less sophisticated level, and used profitably, for many kinds of training. However our basic investigation here has to do with supervision, its improvement toward more enlightened supervisors, and toward more highly motivated employees; a complex matter. The group methods employed in this context must be so used because of their potential for improving interpersonal relationships.

Group methods and the supervisor

If training is to be a supervisory function, then group methods for training must have some relationship to the supervisory effort. Supervision must be part of the determination of training needs, must be completely in-

² *Ibid.*

³ Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 4.

formed of the content and results of training, and where possible be involved in the evaluation of the training effort. The individual training efforts of supervisors must be linked to the group training efforts and thus form a continuous development effort having a logical sequence.

Small group theory

Essentially there are two lines of reasoning followed here in suggesting the use of training in small groups.⁴ The first has to do with the opportunity for interaction within the training group, and the other has to do with the opportunity for observation of and experimentation with the small group. Training in other than those clear-cut cases of skills needed in jobs at the lower levels of the hierarchy, is actually development of the ability to employ rather complex skills which are, in a sense, interpersonal skills. The small group gives each participant the opportunity to get "feedback" on the skills that he brings to the training and also skills that he has been exposed to and would like to experiment with. The small training group can constitute a workshop within which the amount of time and the atmosphere are conducive to such experimentation.

Experimentation of another kind, that of conducting evaluation of training success, is also more feasible in a small group, for as in most experimental studies in the social sciences, control of the variables becomes more difficult and thus the measurement becomes less discrete as the group size increases. This would also be the case in observation of the small group as a subsystem of the social system that the overall organization constitutes. As the small group is observed, certain insights can be gained into the larger entity, the total organization. This extension is possible, for it is fairly commonly recognized now that a small group may bear many resemblances to larger scale social systems.⁵ Training, as has been previously stated, is that organizational process with high potential for integrating organization. The training group itself need not only serve the purposes of employee development but may also serve as a place where insights into the organizational climate can be gained.

Meetings and conferences

"The successful conference depends upon the attitude and participation of every member."⁶ One of the basic problems, which is widely recognized, is that there are just too many conferences and meetings toward

⁴ A small group is broadly defined as one in which each person has the opportunity to interact with each other person. It should be noted that training in large groups is not compatible with the developmental approach basic to this writing.

⁵ See the Preface, A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta and Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), p. v.

⁶ Edward S. Maclin and Paul T. McHenry, *Conference Leader Training* (New London, Conn.: National Foremen's Institute, Inc., 1952), p. 10.

which one should have the proper attitude. They are, as are many training sessions, convened all too often by whim. It is extremely difficult to maintain a cooperative attitude through the many group sessions that call a supervisor away from what he perceives to be his main reason for organizational existence.

Meetings, conferences and group training sessions can, if the organization has strong feelings about employee and organizational development, be a part of the same effort to both upgrade personnel and improve organizational effectiveness. Conference leadership training, or conference leadership and participation⁷ as many organizations have renamed it, has as a natural extension the many conferences and meetings that most organizations hold. If the skills gained in such training can be practiced, evaluated and improved, a certain amount of organizational integration is accomplished. The device for so doing is rather simple procedurally, for it consists merely of having the trainer from the conference session observe in the "work" conference or meeting and subsequently spend the last fifteen minutes, or so, of that meeting suggesting possible improvements.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

"The contributions of psychology to education have not . . . been as great as an intelligent citizen who has never studied either subject might suspect."⁸ Those contributions have fallen short of the mark, however, only in that, as theories of learning have been developed, no one theory of learning explains the process completely. As Hilgard explains, the preferences of learning theorists lead them, individually, to concentrate on one kind of learning situation to the neglect of others.⁹ The need for a comprehensive theory by which to guide organizational training is thus missing. Because of this, the enlightened training man is perforce an eclectic. He tries to understand sensory-motor learning as it applies to learning to type, conceptual learning as he attempts to help people understand abstract terms, associational learning as he is consultant to the safety officer's training efforts, and attitudinal learning as he carries out his charge to provide human relations training.

His effort to understand may actually be termed an effort to master the

⁷ The reader should remember that some persons feel the stress on participation might lead to anarchy. Argyris examines the concept of employee-centered leadership, which is pertinent to this point, in Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), pp. 187-93.

⁸ Donald Snygg and Arthur W. Coombs, *Individual Behavior: A New Frame of Reference for Psychology* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1949), p. 204.

⁹ Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 6.

psychology of training which is the applied psychology of learning. Despite his eclecticism, not only as it applies to learning theory but also as it applies to the various disciplines within the behavioral sciences, he is usually guided by some basic principles. Six of these principles, as listed by Wolfe,¹⁰ are concerned with variables that can be manipulated under practical training conditions. They are:

1. knowledge of results
2. avoidance of habit interference
3. variety of practice materials
4. methods used in training
5. knowledge of principles involved
6. effectiveness of guidance

The principle of *knowledge of results* states that a subject, in this case a trainee, be given as specific and as immediate information as possible concerning the outcome of his efforts. *Avoidance of habit interference* states that the learner not be asked to learn several alternative responses to approximately the same situation. Using a *variety of practice materials* is a principle recommending variation in the irrelevant parts of the task to force the learner to respond to the critical aspects of the situation. *Methods used in training* is a phrase used to describe the need for concentrating on the process to be learned as opposed to concentrating on the product to be achieved, while *knowledge of principles involved* has to do with the efficacy of helping the learner understand the principles underlying the task on which he is working. The sixth principle called the *effectiveness of guidance* states that learning a motor task is more easily done if the learner is guided through it several times, providing this is not overdone.

To repeat, the trainer, including the supervisor as a trainer, is an eclectic who uses what he hopes is the proper principle or research finding on a situational basis and understands that, as DePhillips and his colleagues suggest, the ritualistic application of a mechanical procedure is not an adequate substitute for genuine insight into the nature of the learning process.¹¹

Vertical and horizontal groupings

Though there may have been a number of principles proposed with which to guide the selection of participants for a training group, the mat-

¹⁰ Dael Wolfe, "Training," S. S. Stevens, editor, *Handbook of Experimental Psychology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1951), pp. 1267-86.

¹¹ Frank A. DePhillips, William M. Berliner, and James J. Cribbin, *Management of Training Programs* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 68.

ter is still a highly controversial one. The opponents of vertical grouping¹² feel strongly that having superiors and subordinates in the same training group tends to limit participation. They point out the extreme discomfort that a subordinate feels as he gropes to find ways of expression he feels are acceptable to his superior. On the other hand, the proponents point out that superior and subordinate normally operate in a vertical grouping, and that despite the discomfort accompanying vertical group training, this kind of group has the potential for giving great assistance to superior-subordinate relationships.

As a matter of fact, it is rather difficult to argue too strongly with either side. Vertical groupings do threaten many, where on the other hand vertical groupings have been extremely successful in some quarters. The question must be resolved within limitations of the climate of the organization for which the training is being planned. Some organizational climates, such as that in which the top boss encourages a system for feeding back negative statements from training sessions, do not allow successful vertically structured training experiences. Other climates, though these may be comparatively rare, permit the freedom needed and are thus able to capitalize on the vertical groupings potential to stimulate more effective interpersonal relationships.

THE SUPERVISOR AND GROUP APPROACHES

If the basic responsibility for training lies with the supervisor, then he must have some role in group training. As previously stated, he should be involved in training needs determination, must have complete knowledge of the training his people are involved in, and should be involved in the evaluation of the training effort. Over and above this kind of involvement, it is *desirable* for much of the actual training to be done by the supervisor.

Staffing with supervisors or training specialists

Experience tends to indicate a fluctuating training effort in those organizations which hire a large staff of training specialists. In addition, in the skills training areas, it is much more difficult to relate training to the work situation when it is performed by those having little contact with the day-to-day work of the organization. Even more significant is the fact that there exists an excellent opportunity for supervisorial growth through conducting training sessions.

Training is a humbling process.¹³ Properly trained in instructional tech-

¹² A vertical group is one consisting of trainees from different hierarchical levels, a horizontal grouping consisting of trainees from the same hierarchical level.

¹³ DePhillips, and others, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

niques, the supervisor can learn much from his contact with the training group. His learning can be in a substantive area, in the area of interpersonal competence, or might well be an experience resulting in better self-understanding. As a trainer, the supervisor is almost forced to subordinate his own needs to the group needs. Many of his own value judgments may begin to appear incompatible with those of others, and many of his long held beliefs may come in for review. He is thus forced, as he attempts to competently fulfill his obligation to train, to examine his own growth patterns to see if they are actually growth patterns or consist of behavior that has not kept pace with the demands of an ever changing organization. On the other hand, he might well discover that his development has outstripped that of the organization.

Leader and participant

Leadership can be conceptualized as an interaction between a person and the members of a group.¹⁴ Though it is generally felt that this interaction is stimulated for the common good by the constituted leader of the group, it is rather difficult to conceive of successful group action in which all stimulus is generated by the leader alone. The supervisor who is leader in one staff meeting and participant in another often feels the truth of this statement and yet seldom is able to rise beyond an acceptance of alternately filling the traditional roles of leader and "follower." One of the advantages to having the supervisor perform in the leadership role, for which he is properly prepared in the training session, is that it helps bring into proper focus the subtle differences between the leadership and group member roles.

Leadership role not abdicated

The supervisor's training in this regard should stress that accepting the valuable ideas any group might put forth does not necessitate the abdication of the leadership role by the leader—does not lead to anarchy, as some are wont to charge. The fact of the matter is that leadership skills are of ever increasing importance to organization but ever more difficult to find in a democratic society which recognizes the potential contribution of the nonleader. In discussing this matter, Gordon¹⁵ notes that some writers have equated the group-centered leader with the leader who does nothing. He suggests, to the contrary, that such a leader performs an active and intense role and is a dynamic influence on the effectiveness of the group's communication.

¹⁴ Thomas Gordon, *Group-Centered Leadership* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955), p. 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-94.

TYPES OF GROUP TRAINING

Most training people, it seems, are highly inventive in the matter of group approaches to training. An inventory of all their innovations would more than fill a volume of greater proportions than the one the reader is now engaged in. For this reason, those discussed here will be limited to a chosen few which have generally proved to be useful aids to the goal of improving organizational effectiveness. By their exclusion, other methods are not stamped as being ineffective.

The conference method

This is a generic term meaning many things to many people. Actually, trainers generally do not think of training methods in isolation. Some group methods are training tools alone, but others are also effective methods for conducting problem solving conferences and staff meetings. One training group, in its approach to conference leader training, introduces a complete continuum of methods entitled *Training and Problem Solving*

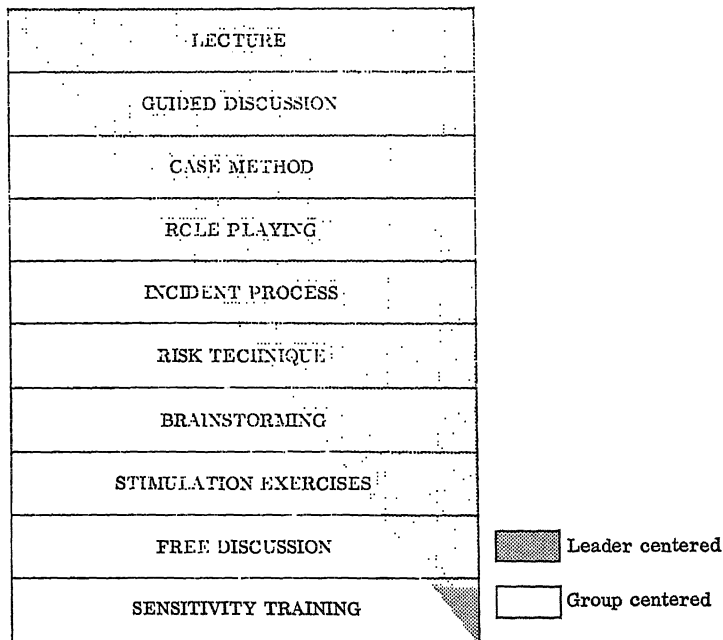


Figure 3. Leader and group centered training and problem solving approaches. This figure indicates that a selected sampling of methods for use in organizational training and problem solving range from those which are highly leader centered to those which are highly group centered. The proportions for each method are not proposed as absolute.

Methods. Within this continuum are a number of methods for which certain principles are interchangeable but in which the approaches vary from the highly leader centered to some which are highly group centered. (See Figure 3.) One of the major points that these trainers make is that certain methods better fit certain organizational climates and certain leadership patterns. The choice of a potentially successful conference or training method is highly dependent on the "style" of leadership which is compatible with the behavior of the person who is to be the leader.

Choosing a leadership pattern

Tannenbaum and Schmidt¹⁶ propose a continuum, or range, of possible leadership behavior available to a manager ranging from that in which the manager maintains a high degree of control to that in which he releases a high degree of control. "Neither is absolute; authority and freedom are never without their limitations."¹⁷ The extremes, however, do suggest extremes which one can observe in use in management and supervision. Eliminating, for the moment, other forces limiting choice, the question becomes one of which point on the continuum represents a satisfactory point at which the supervisor might best operate, either with his work group or in the training session.

Though hopefully, he would have the flexibility to operate as the situation demanded, the lack of flexibility might well dictate that his successful leadership depend on congruity of his usual behavior and the method he chose. Left to his own devices he will probably tend to choose a method which is more in keeping with what he sees as being desired by his own superiors. It is usually only through his training in conference leadership and participation that he is able to gain insight into which method, or methods, he might successfully employ. In the training session, which should constitute a climate in which experimentation can freely take place, he might also learn to successfully use additional methods, thus helping him to gain the flexibility generally considered to be desirable.

Lecture method

Though it has been the object of much abuse, that abuse has not been heaped upon the lecture method as a result of the method, per se. The abuse has been stimulated because so few good lectures are available, lectures are often too long, even many better lecturers don't prepare their lectures in conformance with good teaching principles, and group sessions which incorporate lectures have too many trainees in them.

The lecture method does have a place in organizational training, but

¹⁶ Robert Tannenbaum and Warren H. Schmidt, "How to Choose a Leadership Pattern," *Harvard Business Review*, 36:95-101, November-December 1958.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

should not be employed as broadly as it is, nor should it be used in settings which differ so greatly from that used in other group training. "The major seeming advantage of the lecture method is its economy."¹⁸ This is, of course, the factor that has led to the misuse of the method. Because it is economical and because most managements feel extremely uneasy about the return from the training effort, a great proportion of the training effort is done by lectures in which the groups get so large the lecturer feels compelled to speak through a public address system.

When the lecture is used, it should be used as an integrated portion of the total training, only effective lecturers should be employed, the lecture should be considered in terms of the problems of attention¹⁹ of the members of the audience, the group size should be limited to that which might be employed in other more participative methods, and an opportunity for interchange between the group members and the lecturer should be provided. Most important, the lecture should be used with the caution that McGehee and Thayer suggest, which is that all the evidence available indicates that the lecture method results in only minimal behavior modifications.²⁰

When a superior uses the lecture method, sometimes called an *information giving conference*, in his meetings with a group of his subordinates, he should give some consideration to foregoing discussion of leadership style. All too often a leader centered method is chosen only because the person using it is apprehensive about maintaining his leadership if he uses a more group centered approach.

Guided discussion

The guided discussion, like the lecture method, is a leader centered approach to training and problem solving. It is a method which directly focuses attention on the topic at hand. It permits the group leader greater opportunity to get reaction to an idea than does the lecture. Procedurally it consists of the leader presenting an idea to the group and encouraging them to discuss it, but making it quite clear to the group that he retains the right to make the ultimate decision. He is free, however, to alter his preconceived notions about the matter if he so chooses.

A supervisor using this method in a meeting with his work group should be alert to the group members reaction to use of the method. They may possibly see its use as a manipulative device employed by the supervisor

¹⁸ William McGehee and Paul W. Thayer, *Training in Business and Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1961), p. 197.

¹⁹ The problems of attention, though given much thought by the educator of the small child, are seldom taken into consideration in the training of adults. For a review of problems of attention, the reader is commended to Robert S. Woodworth and Harold Schlossberg, *Experimental Psychology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1954), Chapter 4.

²⁰ McGehee and Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

to attempt to force them into agreeing with his own thinking on the matter. Such a circumstance often occurs when a highly authoritarian leader changes abruptly from an information giving approach to the guided discussion. These kinds of behavioral shifts, in a supervisor who has not previously exhibited any degree of flexibility, usually become suspect to the group.

Case method

Though used for training and education purposes to a great extent, the case method is seldom employed as a problem solving device. Where it has been so used, the group leader has given a group of his subordinates case material relating to an actual unsolved problem on which he would like some help. He may wish to accept the group solution, but more often than not he would prefer to gather ideas from which he can make his own decision. Whatever the intent, it should be announced to the group at the very outset of the meeting, and subsequent information related to the disposition of the matter should also be given to them.

In either of the two uses of the case method, the procedure is basically the same and the cautions appropriate. The approach consists of presenting the pertinent material, short of solution, to the group. This material is most often presented as written material, but variations such as playing the case material from a recording are sometimes employed. The group then discusses the material, as a total group or in subgroups, ultimately arriving at a proposed solution. In a training exercise the case used may have been resolved by some course of action in which instance the solution is presented to the group.

When the solution is presented, extreme caution must be exercised toward getting the group to realize that there is *no one solution* to the case. The solution is only presented as a stimulus for exploring the case more deeply, for it is in exploring the underlying principles that learning should take place. In using the case method the trainee feels that the underlying principles become less abstract than they do if presented through the lecture method.²¹

Harvard Business School Case Method

It is to be noted that the Harvard Business School²² is usually given credit for developing the case method for use on the college level and that the method was subsequently utilized as an in-service training device.

²¹ McGehee and Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

²² For additional discussion of the Harvard Business School Case Method, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953) and Malcolm McNair, ed., *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1954).

The basic philosophy underlying the Harvard case method is that it is to be used to teach insight and analysis rather than to furnish solutions. As a matter of fact the approach tends to discourage jumping to premature conclusions by developing a questioning attitude toward situations and facts. In its use, the teacher, or trainer, avoids rendering his own opinions and solutions, but rather "parries" attempts on the part of students, or trainees, to draw him out.

Role playing

Closer to the midpoint between leader centered and group centered approaches there is a method which Maier describes as the technique "of creating a life situation, usually one involving conflicts between people, and then having persons in a group play the parts of specific personalities."²³ Its use is almost exclusively in training, though in a few rare instances, role playing has been employed as a device to help solve inter-personal problems in a work situation.

Role playing was originally developed for therapeutic purposes and may have some therapeutic value when used as a training method. The experienced trainer does not use role playing simply as a device for stimulation of examination of principles illustrated in the role play situation. By adroitly casting the players and by focusing on the process rather than the subject of the role play, he may stimulate some rather positive introspection.

Procedurally the role play may vary from the spontaneous assignment of only two role players at some point in a session, to assigning a half dozen or more roles, on a preplanned basis, for role playing that progresses through a number of scenes. The latter approach is somewhat more structured in that role instructions are more completely defined and the various scenes are rather completely described. In either case, it is hoped that the player will go beyond the original structure, reverting from what may be assuming a suggested role to an exhibition of behavior more in keeping with the kind of behavior the role player normally exhibits.

The "Incident" process

The "Incident" approach to the case method is much like the role play in that there is approximately the same amount of trainee participation in both. It is a variation of the case method designed to overcome two of the difficulties of the case method: (1) the case method tends to allow trainees to come to the sessions poorly prepared, and (2) the case method permits articulate trainees to monopolize the conversation.

²³ N. R. F. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952), p. 87.

In the incident process, as devised by Pigors,²⁴ the training session starts with the presentation of an incident consisting of from fifty to one hundred words. With two persons, a trainer or conference leader and a resource person who knows all the details of the case, conducting the session, the group gathers facts by directing questions to the resource person. When they are satisfied that they have all the facts needed, the group is asked to postulate the problem or issues at stake. Next, the group makes a decision.

As in the use of other training approaches, many variations of the basic approach are employed, such as using a role play to introduce the incident and in having the group partially operate from buzz groups. Also, most trainers who use the method allow for divergence of opinion by allowing for majority and minority opinions from which discussion can emanate thus causing the case to be more thoroughly discussed. In either instance the session continues to a "looking ahead" phase which may well be the most important part of the process. During this phase the trainer and the resource person may contribute freely to a discussion of the principles the case illustrates, and may focus on the group behavior in arriving at a decision or on individual behavior as these activities contribute to the goals of the session.

Not to be confused with the "Critical Incident Method"

The Pigors incident process for training should not be confused with the "Critical Incident Method" developed by John C. Flanagan. The latter is essentially a research and fact finding device used mainly for developing rating scales and systems for the evaluation of personnel. The Flanagan method consists of gathering hundreds (or even thousands) of isolated happenings, treating them statistically, and arriving at objective behavioral norms for determining whether or not people are doing good work.²⁵

Risk technique

This is an approach to group training and problem solving which is approximately half leader centered and half group centered. It is not a widely used technique, but it has been especially successful as a device for letting the group "ventilate." The procedure for using it is to ask the group what risks they see if a certain rule or regulation is adopted. As the group

²⁴ For a complete description of the process, see Paul and Faith Pigors, *Director's Manual, The Incident Process* (Washington, D.C.: The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1955).

²⁵ Chris Argyris, "Techniques of 'Member Centered' Training," *Personnel*, 28:236-246, November 1951.

members suggest risks, they are written on the conference paper and no criticism of any proposed idea is allowed. When the group seems to have given all their negative ideas, they are then asked to suggest advantages to taking the particular course of action. The third step is to weigh the positive suggestions against negative ones with the ultimate goal of arriving at a decision regarding the propriety of taking the proposed course of action.

This technique has been employed successfully as a sort of problem solving approach. In so doing, a supervisor might ask his group to suggest the risks to be encountered in putting into effect a rule already handed down from higher management. It is vital in such a case that the group be made to understand that no changes are to be made in the rule. The second phase would be to ask the group to suggest advantages of putting the rule into operation. The third step would involve weighing the positive against the negative aspects and then making further suggestions as to how the residual risks might be minimized.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming²⁶ is a widely known technique that needs little discussion here. Suffice to say that it is a training or problem solving method which, as reported by Osborn,²⁷ adheres to the following principles: (1) Ideation can be more productive if criticism is concurrently excluded; (2) the more ideas the better, and (3) group ideation can be more productive than individual ideation. By such adherence in a session wherein each participant is encouraged to give out ideas as rapidly as they come to mind, solutions will be found, new ideas proposed, and inventive suggestions made.

Free discussion

Near the group centered end of the continuum of approaches, free discussion is to be found. The supervisor or trainer uses this approach as a means of trying to learn of the feelings, concerns, and values of subordinates or trainees. Though there is leadership of a subtle kind practiced to guide the discussion within broad limits, the leader attempts to behave in such fashion as to not impose his needs and values on the group. It is an extremely valuable technique for use at different levels of supervision in attempting to better understand the feelings of subordinates. As a training approach, its more practiced extension is sensitivity training.

²⁶ For an extensive discussion of brainstorming, see Alex F. Osborn, *Applied Imagination* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), Chapter 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Sensitivity training

Sensitivity training,²⁸ variations of which are known as training in unstructured groups, t-group training, or action research stems from the work of Kurt Lewin in group dynamics. It must be remembered, however, that despite his interest in the group dynamics movement, there is a great deal more to Lewin's psychology. He is most widely known for his efforts to describe human action in terms of a field theory.

Originally, under Lewin's impetus, sensitivity training was an effort to develop leaders who could secure and implement decisions for groups by democratic rather than autocratic methods.²⁹ From these beginnings, that which has since gone under the name of sensitivity training has taken many forms.³⁰ "The unstructured group as an instrument for training was pioneered by the National Training Laboratory in Group Development at Bethel, Maine, under the leadership of Leland Bradford, and over the last dozen years has been embroidered, refined, modified and experimented with both at Bethel, in other myriads of activities of the National Training Laboratories and Universities throughout the country."³¹ Many governmental organizations, and also industrial firms such as Esso Standard Oil, Aerojet General Corporation and Champion Paper and Fibre Company have also used variations of this approach to training.

Sensitivity training is controversial, having vigorous exponents and adamant opponents. Few have a neutral view. Its methodology defies adequate description, though the Ferguson article previously cited is recommended as a brief description of how the training session unfolds. Important to those interested in a developmental approach to supervision is that this technique holds far more promise as an instrument for behavioral change than do any of the others mentioned. Of its impact on the trainee, Ferguson³² says:

The unstructured group as an instrument for management development is being used more widely all the time by large business, industrial, social, and governmental organizations. The tremendous impact of unstructured groups is due to the fact that they create an unparalleled opportunity for

²⁸ For a detailed description of a sensitivity training session, see Irving R. Weschler and Jerome Reisel, *Inside a Sensitivity Group* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Institute of Human Relations, 1959).

²⁹ McGehee and Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁰ There are many references to sensitivity training by that and other names. For a partial review, see Gordon, *op. cit.*, Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, and Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), and Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962).

³¹ Charles K. Ferguson, "Management Development in Unstructured Groups," *California Management Review*, 1:66-72, Spring 1959.

³² *Ibid.*

managers to "see" complex dynamics of interaction between and among self and others in a context of group organization. The chance to participate in, and observe, the dramatic development of structure as it emerges in an unstructured group, and to evaluate its consequences, offers the most pertinent kind of learning opportunity for managers.

Training by simulation

There are a great many group (and individual) approaches to training by simulation. These vary from simulators which Glaser and Glanzer³³ call "part-task training devices" which are used to provide opportunity to practice part of a complex skill, to some of the rather complicated computer games³⁴ such as that devised by International Business Machines. Many of these devices have applicability for in-service training, and a selected few can be used in the training at various levels of supervision. They bear investigation by those involved in training administration. Expensive hardware, which many of these devices require, is not required for all training by simulation.

A training device known as the *in-basket* is a *kind of simulation* finding favor in many supervisory and management training programs. Its greatest advantage is low cost, for the *in-basket* consists merely of a variety of letters, memoranda, telephone messages, etc., that a supervisor might find in his own in-basket. Each participant in the training session is given the same set of these and then given a specified amount of time in which to note the disposition he would make of each item. At the end of the specified period, group discussion ensues, with a group leader guiding it and adding insights as he sees them appropriate. The direction of the discussion can be predetermined, toward the matter of delegation for instance, by the substance of the in-basket material. Those who regularly use the in-basket are quite enthusiastic about its value in the training of managers and supervisors though little seems to have been done in the way of evaluating its success as a training device.³⁵

Games and gimmicks

In addition to a wealth of more conventional approaches a training man might use, he has added more that might best be termed games and

³³ For further description, see Robert Glaser and Murray Glanzer, *Training and Training Research* (Pittsburgh: American Institute for Research, 1958), p. 28.

³⁴ For a survey of a variety of programmed instruction, that using, in the main, computers, teaching machines, or other "hardware," see Theodore B. Dolmatch, Elizabeth Marting, and Robert E. Finley, eds., *Revolution in Training: Programed Instruction in Industry* (New York: American Management Association, 1962).

³⁵ For a discussion of the in-basket used as a testing device, see Charles D. Smith, "What's In The Box, Doc?" *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 15:27-31, January 1951.

gimmicks. They are controversial, having strong opposition from some quarters, but tending to have better than average support from the supervisors who have participated in the exercises so classed. One such game is called Lok-A-Block. It is purported to be, by its proponents,³⁶ an exercise which demonstrates the processes of planning, organizing, directing, controlling and coordinating; and which demonstrates certain features of group processes and styles of leadership.

The "props" for the game are two sets of interlocking blocks. One set is put together in a prescribed shape. The other set is distributed in random fashion so that each of five, or so, members of a team have approximately the same number of blocks, all of which are not the same shape or color. The team is then given a maximum planning period, but required to use only as much of the period as they feel necessary for planning to duplicate the shape of the first set. Planning time is measured as is time for putting the blocks together. A second team then undertakes the same exercise, during which observations are made by the instructors and the team not involved. After both teams have completed the task, comparisons are made of methods of organizing for the task; time used for planning and time used in completing the task; relationships of the team members during the exercise, etc. Group discussion follows. Generally, participants become highly involved, and most report gaining certain insights, though here too, sound evaluation of the technique is not readily found.

In retrospect

Group approaches to training are necessary to round out the total personnel development effort of any given organization. There are many approaches available for use, though some of these are highly controversial. It would seem important for organizations using group methods to spend some of their training budget in an effort to evaluate the training approaches they use, and perhaps their whole training program, by scientific and controlled experimentation.³⁷

³⁶ The origin of the game is difficult to trace. One of your authors first saw it used by Frank Grannis of International Business Machines and later saw it, in a refined form, used by the Training Division, California State Personnel Board.

³⁷ DePhillips, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

Organization development

In Chapter 1, the term *organization development* was mentioned briefly and broadly defined as a phenomenon resulting from direct attempts to relate employee development, especially at the executive level, to attempts to develop the organization in an “O and M” (organization and methods) sense. The reader will, of course, recognize that the definition limits the concept to but two of many applicable considerations. Lack of inclusion of other factors is not, at this point, an oversight. It is rather in keeping with the main theme of this total work. In addition, that which is called an “O and M” sense will have to suffice as covering a “multitude of sins,” leaving a detailed accounting of the other factors for a time when the concept *organization development* has been more completely developed. For the moment then, let us view the concept as it relates to what has gone before and what is to come in this edition.

Chapter 17

The suggestion of DePhillips¹ and his colleagues that training can become an integrating device or mechanism in organization may in fact suggest an approach to organization development. The kind of integration suggested basically has to do with making whole that which the organization has managed to make atomistic. Because little is actually known of how to make organizations whole or how to make them efficient systems of cooperation,² they all too often operate as a series of gears which drive the whole but which have a very high energy loss in the system. Our

¹ Frank A. DePhillips, William A. Berliner, and James J. Cribben, *Management of Training Programs* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 38ff.

² For a discussion of systems of cooperation, and some of the elements missing from this account, see Chester I. Barnard, “Organizations as Systems of Cooperation,” Amitai Etzioni, ed., *Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 14-18.

simile suggests that organizational output is much reduced below input because of friction occurring between the two.

The task of training in its integrating role is to create those situations or climates in which greater cooperation can take place; to bring into focus the social, the interpersonal, the technical, and other factors which contribute to the friction but which could contribute to greater cooperation.

Acceptance a problem

It must be admitted, however, that at this writing the concept is not well received nor well understood. This is related to many factors, but for present purposes two reasons are of major importance: (1) the failure to recognize the potential of the training function, and (2) lack of an operational theory of organization.

Training has long struggled for acceptance as an integral part of organization, has long struggled to be seen as more than that ancillary³ service which "prepares people to do their jobs well."⁴ While no training man would deny the preparation activity to be part of his function, he would probably be quick to add, as did Planty, that in addition training develops attitudes, skills and understanding in managers enabling them to secure full cooperation among members of an organization.⁵

As to the lack of an operational theory, or even "systemized knowledge of the basic principles of organization and their practical implication in the day-to-day administrative process,"⁶ it might be said that here also is an area for which the potential is not recognized. That is, though many in the academic field try to formulate rigorous theories of organization,⁷ industrial and business management has not necessarily been able to understand just what these theories "might do for them."

Related to the developmental approach

Though this edition stresses the developmental approach to supervision, implicit in much of the discussion is a plea for some sort of developmental climate which would permeate the entire organization. Two basic ele-

³ Note that *The Winston Dictionary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1946) defines ancillary as "like a maidservant; subservient; subordinate; auxiliary."

⁴ Earl G. Planty, William S. McCord, and Carlos A. Efferson, *Training Employees and Managers* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See Milton C. Lightner, "Patchwork Organization: Its Causes and Cures," *Management Review*, 46:75-87, April 1957.

⁷ For an exploration of the results of research related to organizations, see Albert H. Rubenstein and Chadwick J. Haberstroh, *Some Theories of Organization* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960).

ments in that climate are, (1) the stress on development of the people in the organization and (2) the adherence to a guiding theory by which the needs of developing people and the developing organization can be coordinated. Though such a guide may suggest the antithesis of the developmental approach, the authors feel that it could eventually become a formula through which all variables might be kept in equilibrium by manipulation of those factors in the formula (equation) which can logically be increased or decreased as the need demands.

For instance, assuming that the organization employing such a formula would subject it to constant research and revision, one factor in the formula which might be safely manipulated is that representing needs not susceptible to a condition of diminishing returns. On the other hand, a factor which would be held constant is that representing the predictability of certain behavior.

We thus find ourselves having gone a full cycle from training as an integrating function, through the problems of acceptance and lack of workable theories of organization, to a formula which would guide the total development of the organization, and back to training and its integrating role. The cycle tends to always return thus because of the tremendous gap between research related to organization and organization practice. For a specific example we might well take the above suggestion that the factor representing predictability of certain behavior would be treated as a constant in the formula guiding the organizational practice.

Without the integration, as constituted by bringing the research result to the organization and there inculcating it, few management practitioners would accept the research results which indicate that certain behavior is, in fact, predictable.⁸ After all, much of the experience that management and supervision has had with groups tends to make them believe that group behavior is capricious. Contrariwise some persons believe that scientists are able to predict most anything with remarkable accuracy.

Bringing the appropriate research results to the organization, "making them" a part of the managerial and supervisory atmosphere, and subsequently building them into the practices and processes of management are part and parcel of the developmental approach. Accomplishing this Herculean task is most naturally a training function, though the term

⁸ It is not suggested that behavior of an individual who is a participant in complex interpersonal situations can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy. See, Robert F. Bales, "Small-Group Theory and Research," Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 293-303, for a discussion of naturalistic prediction in interpersonal relations. On the other hand there is a commonality of physical, social and egoistic needs which can be dealt with as a constant. As one source among many which discusses needs, see Mason Haire, *Psychology in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1956), pp. 19-40.

(training) is no longer descriptive of the function. Personnel and organization development would be more nearly accurate.

Interpersonal considerations

As the organization strives to change individual and group behavior, it does in fact, turn to the training function, but all too often without understanding the complexity of the task they assign.⁹ Behavior is not changed through good instruction by a competent lecturer, but it might be through the ministrations of a well rounded personality acting within the training function. The trainer who accomplishes change must himself have a high degree of social awareness and must have a good understanding of a fairly broad range of behavioral science inquiry.

Even if one assumes that individual behavior cannot be changed, the integration of the organization's activities, even so, calls for such knowledge. Not being able to change behavior would make it all the more important to change the formal organizational structure, as Argyris¹⁰ suggests, so that employees would experience more activity than passivity and greater relative independence than dependence. Generally then the developmental needs of the individual would have to be specifically built into the organization formula. Other factors which might be included in such a formula also call for a broad understanding of behavioral science research results. These would be factors such as: (1) basic needs of the organism; (2) need meeting capability of the organization; (3) the broader culture within which the organization operates;¹¹ (4) supervisory ability, and (5) individual worker input after the concept proposed by March and Simon which suggests that participants in an organization are the source of inducements that elicit contributions from other members.¹²

THE PLAN

The plan for organization development would be an all inclusive one. It would not necessarily deny the existence of any of the present components of organization: these known as "line," personnel management,

⁹ Your authors all too often sound as if they believe all training personnel are of a caliber sufficient to perform well in an organization employing the developmental approach. This is certainly not true, for the great bulk of the exciting work which is found in the journals and texts is being utilized by a small proportion of the persons involved in training.

¹⁰ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 117.

¹¹ The impact of the broader culture is discussed in Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, and Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 13.

¹² See the general discussion of motivational restraints in James G. March and Herbert Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 83-111.

administrative or organization analysis, budgeting, quality control, etc. It would however call for some realignment, such as dropping the separate terms of staff and line and putting less emphasis on the separateness of each staff and line function. The organization would become flatter as the following “before” and “after” organization charts illustrate.

The organization

The first chart (Typical Organization Chart—which is not purported to be technically correct nor complete) has the typically segregated unit organization and the typical number of hierarchical levels which factors

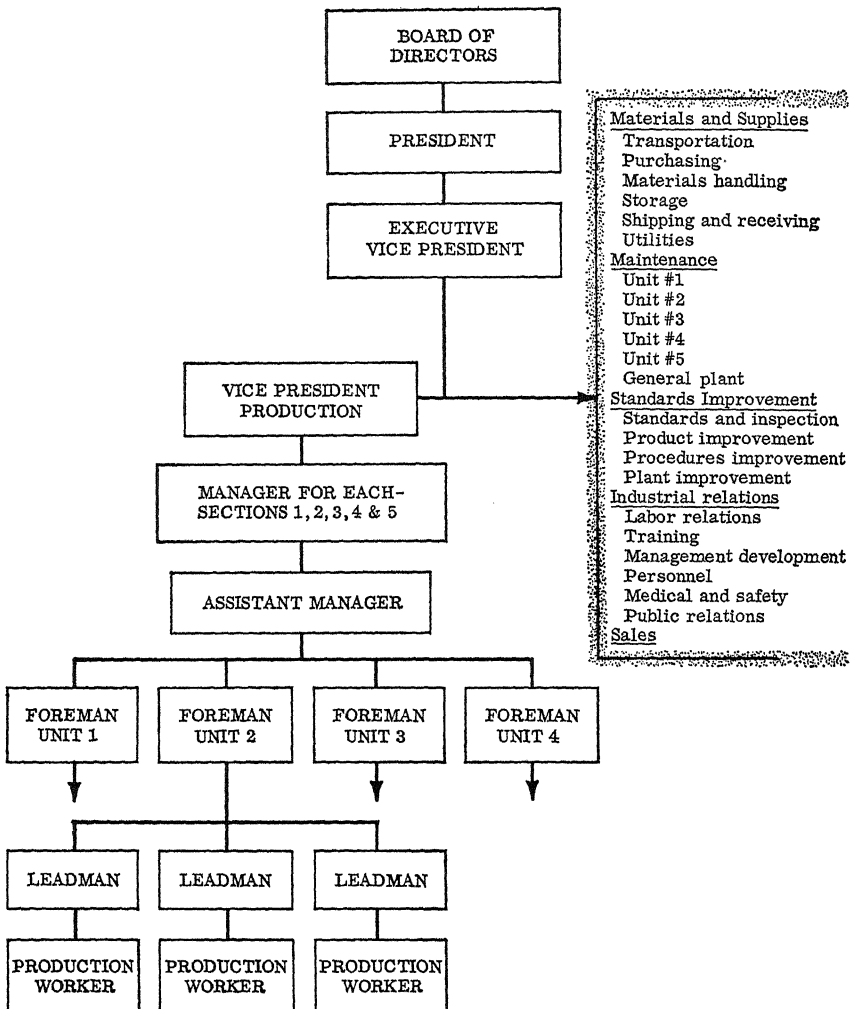


Figure 4. Typical organizational chart.

both tend to make organization development difficult. The second organization is quite flat, being so made through what might be called a group or team approach. It still is somewhat segmented, but the various segments work in direct support of the production team.¹³ For instance, the Fabrication Unit (team) would not deliver knitted parts of their own design, but would deliver the parts in a design suggested by one of the production teams.

The members of the production teams would have an opportunity for self-actualization¹⁴ in this kind of an organization. They would be given what would amount to a production order and would have the opportunity to organize for the task as they saw fit (they might organize differently for each order they received), order the instruments they need for the job, call for the knitted parts they require, etc. All that the unit planned and executed would be of their own design, although they would have specialized advice as they felt the need for it.

Managerial and supervisory growth

In our hypothetical second organization, the terms managerial and supervisory would not be distinct. The organization's "flatness" would tend to make the two inseparable and the degree of delegation required would tend to force supervision upon those who might otherwise leave the supervision to an assistant, a leadman, or abdicate leaving it to the person who might be exercising functional supervision. Because production to finished product from raw material lies within one distinct unit, there would also be forced upon the supervisor-manager the cold facts of the efficiency of the unit.

The plan for development for these employees would include many of the approaches discussed in Chapters 15 and 16 but would be unique in that their close association with each other and with the Executive Council might well constitute greater stimulus to self-development. Such a plan, on paper, might look much like the development plan suggested in Chapter 19 but perhaps more innovative. As a suggested procedure, the manager-supervisor could make out his own plan, revising periodically, proposing any activity he felt would help him perform better. That plan then could be reviewed by the Vice President-Personnel and Organization Development who would, within his area of delegation, provide

¹³ Some of the ideas presented here are stimulated by notes taken during a presentation by Arthur H. Kuriloff, Vice President-Manager, Performance and Development, Non-Linear Systems, Inc., at Sixth School of Management, California State Interagency Management Development Program, Fall 1962.

¹⁴ The term is used here to suggest that opportunity for individual development approaches the maximum possible when the individual is able to exercise his need to be creative. See Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward A Psychology of Being* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 146-52.

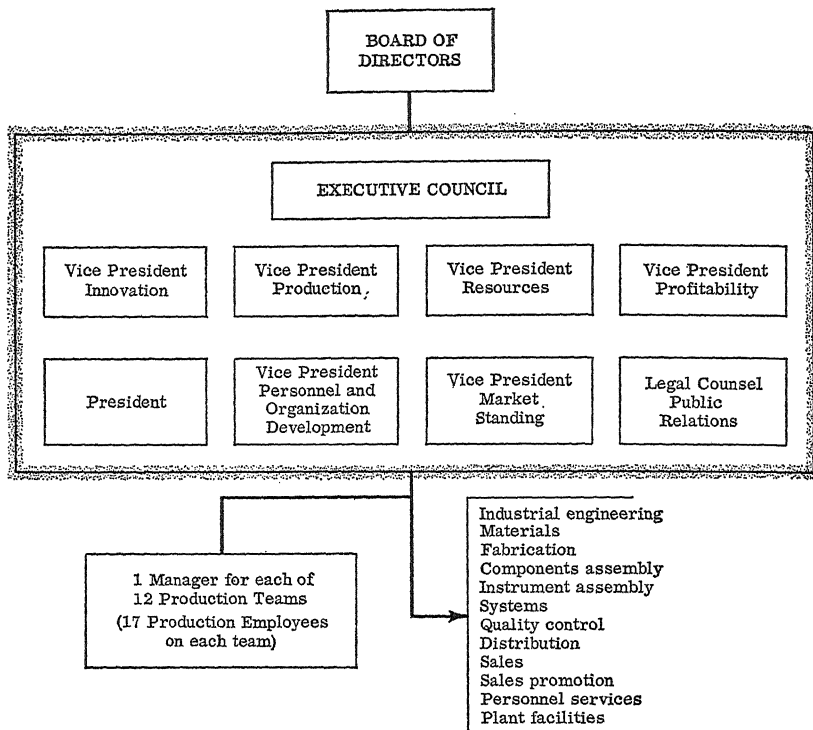


Figure 5. Organization chart more conducive to organization development practices.¹⁵

the means for carrying out the plan. He would, however, conduct a rather rigorous consultative interview with the manager-supervisor before putting the plan into operation. The superior concerned would not be directly involved in the plan, although his discussion of goals with his subordinate would ordinarily be reflected in it. Discussions within the superior-subordinate relationship would ordinarily be confined to discussion of production goals.

COMPONENTS REQUIRED

Basically an organization develops when employees in it have rather strong control over their behavior within the organization, when the philosophy of the organization is that maximum interpersonal interplay through a minimum number of hierarchical levels is desirable, and when a person traditionally called a "trainer" performs an integrating function. In addition to these requirements, another is that certain other components

¹⁵ Though not a copy, this chart is similar to that of Non-Linear Systems, Inc., San Diego, California.

must be present. These, other than the typical functional ones, would be informational components through which the manager-supervisor could gain that which would contribute to his growth. Some of these aids are next described.

Behavioral job descriptions

Traditionally, job descriptions have avoided dealing with that in a job which was thought to be too difficult to describe. Thus job descriptions were based on the assumption that any one person put into a particular job would perform, or behave, like any other person put into the same job. Though in recent years the "extent of functionalism, the number of separate tasks, and the number of separate sections for the entire operation"¹⁶ have been reduced producing more interesting jobs, this was seldom accompanied by the opportunity for a higher classification by the person taking full advantage of this opportunity.¹⁷

The first extension of the job description, so that it can be considered behavioral would be to extend, to use Haire's example, the use of phrases such as, "sorts tools as they come in; maintains stock records,"¹⁸ and so forth, to include phrases, such as, "must be able to make others happy even though he does not have the tools they want."¹⁹ To further extend the idea, the person in a job would be classified as follows: worker 1 if he behaves as minimally described, worker 5 if he exhibits behavior described as being maximum possible in the job, and worker 2, 3, or 4 in between.

Extended administrative analysis

Administrative analysis, to aid in helping the organization and its people grow, must learn more about the application of the analyses made. It has, it seems, kept well abreast of the "principles, concepts and dynamics of administration and management."²⁰ However, as happens with many so-called completed staff jobs, implementation is left to line persons who generally feel they are too overworked to take on this kind of extra work. The training man has long since learned that a completed task is really only complete when he has designed it to fit the social milieu and then

¹⁶ Rensis Likert, *New Patterns in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 16.

¹⁷ Though piece work rates may tend to appear as defacto raises in classification, they have little to do with creating jobs in which the incumbent can gain greater need satisfaction.

¹⁸ Quoted in Haire, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ John M. Pfiffner and S. Owen Lane, *A Manual for Administrative Analysis* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, School of Public Administration, 1947), p. 1.

helped to guide the installation. This, of course, suggests again that training can help through an integrating function, for that installation is a training or educative process.

Age studies

Basic to understanding how a developmental program is to be designed, is the age profile which helps to set the timetable for development. The organizational need to have job X filled is a need much like those found in production control. The man to fill job X should, if the use of energy and time is to be maximized, be ready on the day that job becomes vacant—not a day before, or a day after.

Age profiles should not, however, be merely a listing which leads to the construction of a replacement timetable. Age, seniority, and experience should all be considered, for they are all bases of authority and carry weight in the decision making process.²¹ The age profile then can be used to help analyze some of the power factors, and can, in addition, suggest differential training efforts for those with greater or less seniority and experience. Though not discussed to any extent in this edition, some allowance must be made for the degree of sophistication, felt or real, of the members of the organization who are to be developed.

Acceptance of the "real world"

One of your authors once sat in a group of training people as they were called "pimps of management." Though a bit strong, the charge may be quite descriptive of many organizational staff groups. Those who advise the management team have to work in a climate where they will be free to help keep that team focussed on "reality." Manipulation is a case in point.

Manipulation, to most everyone, is immoral within our cultural framework. And "immoral conduct strikes at the very roots of human nature and works against the final purpose of man's existence."²² The fact is, however, manipulation cannot be avoided in organization, or within most any societal framework, for that matter. A picture of Mr. Average Manager shows him in alliance "with those who believe in the dignity of man"²³ but his behavior shows him giving or withholding information, attacking or retreating, and being alternately aggressive and passive.²⁴

The "honest" nonmanipulative, nonfear producing behavior advocated

²¹ John M. Pfiffner and Robert V. Presthus, *Public Administration* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1960), p. 127.

²² Henry J. Witenberger, *Moral Principles and Problems of Business* (Detroit: University of Detroit, 1953), pp. 1-2.

²³ C. T. Hardwick and B. J. Landuyt, *Administrative Strategy* (New York: Simon-Boardman Publishing Corporation, 1961), p. 11.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

is not of the "real world." Manipulation has never been absent in the history of man's inhabitation of the earth. Fear is actually an effectively used avenue of conversion, and its use is accepted in the highest Judeo-Christian Cultures.²⁵ Manipulation through fear or otherwise can be ruinous, but it would seem that if it is nonruinous, manipulation can add to organizational growth, as in the seed planting approach, well known to many staff men.

Planting the seed

In our discussions with a variety of staff people, we have been encouraged by their ability to deal with the realization that they have needs the organization is not equipped to fulfill. They have evidently come to the point of maturity at which their satisfactions can come through an indirect gratification. Thus they are able to achieve a certain amount of need fulfillment in seeing their ideas take hold even if they are not given direct credit.

These persons help an organization to employ the developmental approach. They help to accomplish change. When blocked in direct attempts to get constructive ideas accepted, they drop ideas here and there in the organization and wait for them to grow. At the point of fruition, credit goes to someone else, and the seed planter must find his gratification in the accomplishment and not in the personal praise the accomplishment brings. This, for the human animal, is a difficult role to accept. It is indeed a role that few have stomach for.

Focus on society in general

Society awaits, today, for the business community to launch a new intellectual ferment for the generation of wise policy.²⁶ It awaits a policy which will be conceived and carried out with the same frenetic urge which is now directed to communicating that which the business community would have the society believe. Such a policy, responsible members of society hope, will realign business to the purposes and objectives of the system of private enterprise as it was conceived and thrived within a total social system.²⁷

Perhaps it might be said that motivation research in industry, which is concerned with consumer personality, indicates the concern of the business institution with the values of our society, but as related to organization development, the stress is misdirected. Part of what makes the employees strive for growth and development is that their association

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁶ Clarence B. Randall, *The Folklore of Management* (New York: The New American Library, 1961), p. 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

with their employing organization brings *reward* from their society and that their organization meets the expectations they have grown to hold as members of that society. Motivation research may only provide clues to the manipulation of the consumer and may in no way help the organization develop toward a realignment with the objectives of the private enterprise system. It may have to be redesigned to have a positive effect, at least in terms of how it increases the societal reward the employee gets from his membership in the organization.

Other components

Those factors which make for greater personnel and organization growth abound. An examination of any great number of them might, however, tend to guide us "back" toward a belief in a highly segmented organization. The underlying suggestion contained here, generally, is that new and healthy ideas must be sought—but not *only* sought. They must be implemented, and it is this process of implementation which is probably the most difficult of accomplishment. Implementation is a particularly difficult problem in a relatively large organization, where a multiplicity of plans are constantly arising from its various parts.²⁸ Though perhaps more of a problem in a large organization, implementation of ideas and plans requires change,²⁹ and change in any organization and its people requires great understanding of a highly complex psychological phenomenon.

SUPERVISOR UNDERSTANDING

Despite the comparatively sparse mention of the supervisor in the above discussion, the proposal that the superior-subordinate relationship is basic to organizational strength is not here abandoned. The training man, the organization analyst, the "innovator," bring to organization the new, the results of what has been obtained empirically, the results of what has been obtained through the scientific approach, and that which has been deduced from the pragmatic method; and they assist in their implementation. *The supervisor, along with the manager, must carry out the implementation; but they are not bound to accept all that is brought to them.* Some degree of rejection is natural, but the rejection all too often reaches absurd proportions because of lack of knowledge or because of a variety of emotional reasons.

²⁸ Preston P. LeBreton and Dale A. Henning, *Planning Theory* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 47.

²⁹ Change involves a greater awareness, of someone, of something, etc., thus the phrase enlarging the span of cognition is used to describe what may be the basic ingredient in the change process. See Robert H. Guest, *Organizational Change* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), pp. 111-12.

What to know!

If all the bits of information which might benefit a supervisor were placed end to end, the newspapers of the land would have a wonderful new filler. These bits of information are of an unestimable number. This fact is one that is basic to acceptance of the concept of organization development. If organizations and their personnel are to grow there will have to be an approach to development broader than that of pyramiding innumerable bits of memorized information. "What to know" is not a decision which is readily, if at all, answered. The supervisor will generally know what he is intellectually and emotionally prepared to know. For instance, he will *know* that there is legitimacy to the supervisory role, for to know differently might cause pain. He will know, probably, that discussing organization development is talk for textbooks.

It appears that "supervisory and leadership skills, effective in some situations, yield unsatisfactory results in others,"³⁰ and the reader can be assured that the ideas in this chapter are presented with full recognition of impossibility of one omnipotent leadership, or supervisory, style. Though some suggestions do indicate a belief in the efficacy of certain kinds of supervisory behavior, these should be seen as part of a composite of effectiveness in which any one factor is of no particular moment. Understanding, for the supervisor, of how an organization constantly develops certainly requires knowledge, but there might be any number of patterns of knowledge which will lead him to cognition.

Supervision, an adaptive process

Likert sees effective supervision as an "adaptive and relative process."³¹ That reaction in the subordinate which a certain supervisory behavior stimulates in one instance may not be elicited by like behavior in another instance. A knowledgeable insight leading to action and subsequent approval for a supervisor one day might lead him to mild trouble on another. Above all, this suggests that whatever knowledge a supervisor is given must help lead him to a greater degree of behavioral flexibility. It also suggests that his participation in organization development efforts should help equip him for his day-to-day supervisorial duties. His involvement in analysis of the organization and the relationship of that analysis to organization theory, for instance, might well help him to understand and more easily accept the need for the hierarchical structure and help him to put these matters into proper perspective.

³⁰ Likert, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³¹ *Ibid.*

BENEFITS TO COMMUNICATION

Despite Randall's admonition that "an irresistible urge to communicate has seized American Industry,"³² your authors are willing to agree that organization development is inextricably bound up in the communication of, not orders and ideas alone, but of all that man has achieved, past and present. To be of use to personnel and organization growth, the communications channels must have some semblance of conformance to that which is essential to relating to the "real world." It is commonly known that communications in organization is selective, especially that which

³² Randall, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

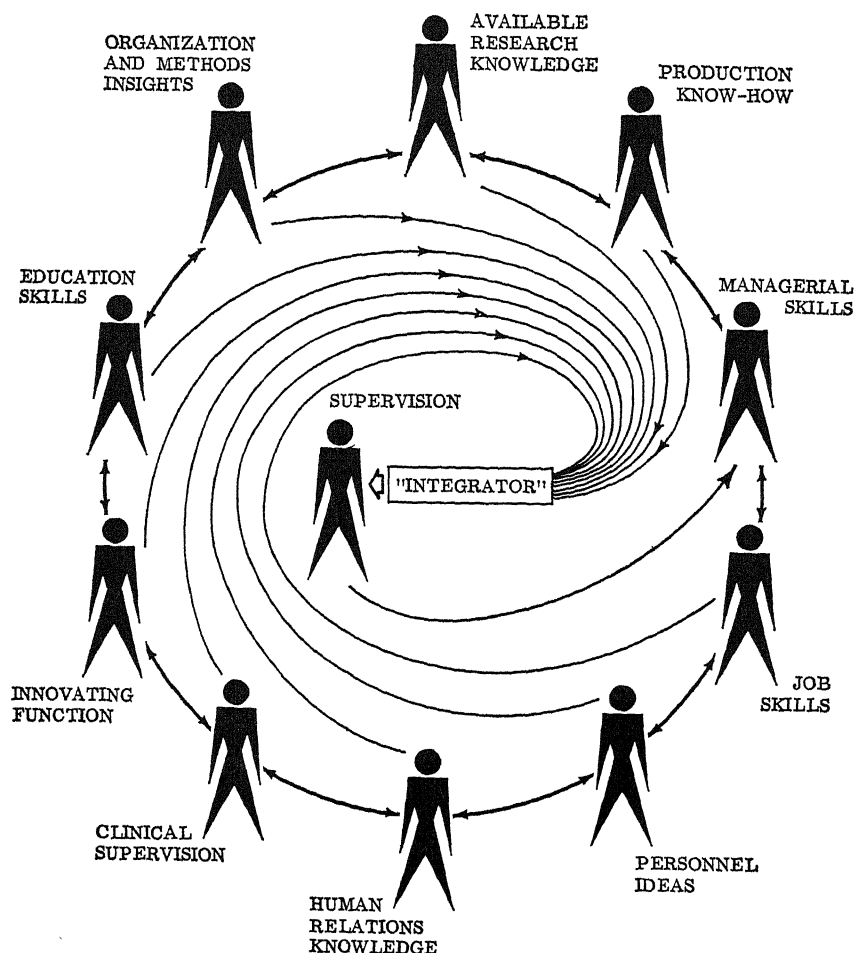


Figure 6. Communications required for organization development.

radiates upward. Perhaps what is needed is a new idea to replace that tired cliché about how communications must be two-way, that is, both up the hierarchy and down the hierarchy. This may be the very crux of the organization development approach. It may be that the one most significant thing that this approach does is to remove the communications filters which seem so natural a part of organization. The accompanying illustration is presented as depicting, in simplified form, the free-flow-communications channels which might give impetus to the development of the organization.

Training-policy to evaluation

In this chapter an attempt will be made to identify some of the components of the total training program, especially as those components relate to the growth and development of the supervisor. To be so related, training must rid itself of the less flattering image it has generally projected and become closely identified with the more constructive products some training efforts have produced.

Chapter 18

Of the less favorable image, Strauss and Sayles have said that in some companies training is on the level of after dinner speeches. They report that instructors often appear at training sessions armed with attention-getting devices such as jokes, cute parlor tricks, and gadgets.¹ Steckle also seems concerned with the training image, noting that when reflective management asks what training has done for them, the answers are often quite embarrassing.² Such an approach recently described in an article in the *Training Directors Journal* had to do with giving two hundred green stamps to sales trainees who had completed their homework with one hundred per cent accuracy. Others were given ten stamps and reminded that their dereliction had cost them an additional one hundred-ninety stamps.³

A more positive image is projected in the work of researchers in the field of training, such as Glaser⁴ and Gibb⁵ and articles describing train-

¹ George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, *Personnel: The Human Problems of Management* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 353.

² Lynde C. Steckle, *The Man in Management* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958), p. 3.

³ Martin Schnitzer, "Trading Stamps As A Training Incentive," *Training Directors Journal*, 17:10-12, August 1963.

⁴ Robert Glaser, ed., *Training Research and Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962). Note Glaser's chapter entitled, "Psychology and Instructional Technology," pp. 1-29.

⁵ See, for example, J. R. Gibb, Grace N. Platts, and Lorraine F. Miller, *Dynamics of Participative Groups* (New York: John Swift and Co., Inc., 1959).

ing programs such as that carried on by the Sperry Gyroscope Company.⁶ However, these works deal with “techniques and procedures for guiding and modifying human behavior,”⁷ and therein lies cause for recognition of a viewpoint at the opposite pole from that which guides this volume.

A moral issue

There are those who feel strongly that attempts of the organization to change the behavior of its employees is, to put it strongly, immoral. Basic to most conceptions of democracy is a belief in the dignity and worth of the human personality,⁸ and those who oppose attempts to change behavior feel that individual persons are being sacrificed for less worthy goals when attempts are made to change their behavior. Your authors profess strong belief in the high worth of the human personality but do not feel that the concept of growth and development violates this belief or is in any way immoral. Creating a growth environment, it seems, is a highly idealistic pursuit. On the other hand it is more likely that forcing the individual to conform to patterns of behavior calculated on pleasing the less than healthy needs of superiors, and thus not allowing them to grow, is much more apt to have no real place in the democratic process.

THE TRAINING POLICY

The training policy tends to be most effective, when it: (1) is brief; (2) tends to stimulate action rather than restrict it; (3) literally gives permission to take the actions that stimulate growth; (4) firmly sets the outer boundaries which top management feels must be maintained, though care should be taken so as not to make this appear negative when it is, in fact, constructive; (5) affirms management's belief in and support of training; and (6) recognizes the importance of supervision to training and development.

Brevity

The training policy should be brief mainly so that its presence does not solidify development efforts which must continually become more sophisticated. It will, of course, constitute a series of abstractions through which to deal with what reality is for the situation. Though the abstractions must be employed, those who are drafting the policy must realize that “through the process of abstracting we are likely to deal with reality in a very limited and/or distorted way.”⁹

⁶ Earl R. Zack, “An Integrated Approach to Management Development,” *Personnel*, 38:51-60, September-October 1961.

⁷ Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁸ Gibb and others, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁹ W. Edgar Vinacke, *The Psychology of Thinking* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1952), p. 93.

The determination of “reality” does not come easy, and perhaps reality is an ethereal something that may forever stay in the unconscious which, as Freud claims, is the true psychic reality.¹⁰ For the purposes of training-policy determination, however, there is a kind of reality which can be determined. Do those at the top of the hierarchical structure literally believe in training or do they subscribe to training as they do to motherhood—because it’s unpopular not to? Without faith in training as an integral part of the organization, much harm can come of policy statements to the contrary.

Permission and stimulation

Stimulation to do a sound training job is not accomplished through posting signs and slogans—a common approach to stimulating programs such as employee suggestions. In many instances stimulation is not so much needed as is permission to indulge in training. Your authors have witnessed a number of organizations in which most employees showed a strong interest in their own, and their subordinates’, growth and development, but where no training took place because management didn’t condone it. Stimulation is required to some degree, however, and the most effective stimulation is the participation of top management in their own development. Thus, it is not only support that management must give, it must also invest active involvement.

Area of freedom

The training policy, to be effective, should indicate those boundaries, or parameters, beyond which employee behavior makes management uncomfortable. This does not suggest a negative atmosphere, but more nearly suggests a comfortable atmosphere for the employee. When boundaries are not delineated, a great deal of testing takes place so that the employee, of any rank, can establish them for himself. Such activity wastes energy and usually results in setting the boundaries comfortably inside of where management would set them.

Responsibility for training

At this point, the reader need only be reminded that basic responsibility for training should be lodged with the supervisor. Whether or not supervision will accept this responsibility is another matter. As DePhillips and his colleagues suggest, line supervisors and managers who have little desire to relinquish most of their responsibilities, unless it suits their convenience, will find that relinquishing training responsibility often suits

¹⁰ See A. A. Brill, translator and editor, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 542.

their convenience.¹¹ There are many reasons for this including lack of time, lack of interest, lack of ability to train, and management's inability to fix the responsibility where they say it should be. Hopefully the policy will make it abundantly clear that basic responsibility lies in the supervisor and that performance in that area will be expected.

TRAINING NEEDS

The overall training program must be based, as nearly as possible, on actual training needs of the organization and the people in it. This suggests that there must be a close relationship of the individual needs to the needs of the organization before the training program is designed.¹² Most training programs are designed pragmatically, and though this fact is abhorred by some, it may be that in a training oriented organization, very accurate judgments can be made.

Survey approach

Probably the most popular approach to the determination of training needs is to conduct a survey in which people are asked what the needs are. The questions asked may be relative to the respondent's perception of his own needs, or to the needs of his superiors, his subordinates, or those who lend him staff support. The survey may be conducted by handing out written questionnaires, by conducting individual interviews, by conducting group interviews, by using the "slip technique,"¹³ and so forth.

The survey approach may not be particularly valid, but if it is made by the interview approach employing well-trained interviewers, it may well lead to the compilation of a mass of pertinent information. Its chief drawback lies in the extremely difficult task of ordering the wealth of information collected. A survey which employs only a written questionnaire is of dubious value for many reasons, of which semantics and the respondent's view of training are but two of the most important.

One of your authors vividly remembers a training needs survey he participated in which resulted in a mass of information, almost all of which indicated the existence of horrendous management practices. When a meeting of top management was called, for a three-day period, to discuss the survey results, little of what the report suggested was ever assimilated. The whole report was much too threatening, and though some construc-

¹¹ Frank A. DePhillips, William M. Berliner, and James J. Cribben, *Management of Training Programs* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 230.

¹² See Chapters 20 and 21 for a discussion of organization and individual needs and their reconciliation.

¹³ Crawford discusses training surveys, particularly those which employ the slip technique, in Claude C. Crawford, *How to Make Training Surveys* (Los Angeles: C. C. Crawford, 1954). Now available from the School of Public Administration, University of Southern California.

tive action resulted, it is doubtful that the management team in question will ever again agree to conducting such a survey.¹⁴

Other methods

Various trainers have employed a great variety of methods for determining training needs. They have related training needs to employee turnover, queried resigning employees about their feelings, examined production records, looked at accident reports, discussed promotion patterns, made analyses of job content, consulted quality control records, etc. All these methods will often help with more accurate assessment of needs and should not be disregarded, at least until there is designed a scientific approach to needs determination.

Despite these efforts, however, the reader will undoubtedly discover that the training office will normally plan its training program each year on the basis of tradition modified by requests that top management brings to it directly or through a training committee. In fact, the training program of most organizations is so predictable that it will probably contain, in one year, or another, all the following ingredients.

TRAINING PROGRAM INGREDIENTS

The greatest percentage of ingredients in a training program are related to "know-how" and "how-to-do" and relatively little of the training time available is devoted to the theories and principles of learning that are basic to these mechanics.¹⁵ This is directly related to the aforementioned desire of management to produce immediate results. In recent years there have been training efforts which attempt to go beyond the "how-to-do" and even beyond the intellectual acceptance of theory and principle. Some of these, such as sensitivity training have, however, run into some extremely potent opposition. For instance, sensitivity training has been described as "The Bloodbath Cure," in which the training sessions are deliberately so unorganized that they begin with rambling conversations and wind up with each group member dishing out and receiving scathing personal criticism.¹⁶

Basic ingredients

Most training programs are sure to include *skills training*, *supervisory training*, and *management training*. Some will further dichotomize by splitting management training into management and executive training;

¹⁴ The reader should note that it is difficult to confine a training needs survey to training needs alone, unless it is done through a very limited written questionnaire. During interviews, the employees participating will almost always take the opportunity to "ventilate."

¹⁵ See DePhillips, and others, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁶ *Time*, December 22, 1961, pp. 52-53.

supervisory training into just that and presupervisory training; and skills training may be classified under headings such as on-the-job training, job-instruction-training and professional training. These various terminologies and their origins are related to problems other than those of training administration. For instance, professional skills training can easily be included in the general category, skills, but this raises a variety of problems related to position and status.

As one looks about and surveys the basic training programs in government and industry, one is often struck by the diminishing number of *apprenticeship programs* that are now conducted. Apprenticeship seems to have been a term very closely associated with the trades and thus has had little carry-over as a concept to other areas which have less flavor of working with the hands. There is no reason though that an organization could not have an apprenticeship program in a number of skills areas such as in electronic data processing programming.

Orientation programs

These have suffered a similar fate in that they have somewhat fallen from favor in the recent training milieu which has tended to stress training for persons at the higher levels of hierarchy. It is interesting to note that the coordinator for management development, in today's organization, may make up to three times the salary that a skills trainer does.

Other programs

The overall training program for most organizations will at some time include subprograms in the following: (1) defensive driving;¹⁷ (2) reading improvement; (3) report writing; (4) effective writing; (5) conference leadership; and (6) safety training. Many of these programs may show immediate return as the defensive driving program sometimes does for the organization which operates a fleet of vehicles. The company can often point to a lower accident incidence and perhaps even to a reduced property damage and public liability premium as a result of the training. These subprograms can be an extremely important aspect of the overall training program and often lack only the feature of being integrated into the day-to-day managerial process.

Clerical missing

It is often argued by trainers that effort put into training managers returns a great deal more than does training at lower hierarchical levels.

¹⁷ Defensive driving is the title now used for training of people in the operation of automobiles and trucks. It is called defensive driving because it stresses operating a vehicle so as to leave ample time and space in which to take defensive action should a child dash out from behind a parked car, another vehicle run a stop sign, or some other emergency arise.

The argument is basically sound but often leads to complete neglect of training for clerical personnel, and thus all too often one may see supervisory and management persons writing letters in longhand or typing them with two educated fingers—the rationalization being that it is much easier to do it thus than to coax Mazie into performing at a realistic rate. Depending on the type of operation, clerical training can be either of great importance, or inconsequential, but generally speaking it receives less attention than it should. Though it is true that improving management performance can pay tremendous dividends, the fact is that improving typing, shorthand, and general clerical skills is much more easily and inexpensively accomplished than is raising the level of managerial skills.

TRAINING EVALUATION

Evaluation of training must be placed in the same category in which Mark Twain placed the weather.¹⁸ “There are frequent references, both oral and written, to the necessity for evaluating training, but little evidence of any serious efforts in this direction.”¹⁹ The reasons are many, but two seem to stand out: (1) management does not want to invest the funds that scientific evaluation would require, and (2) when the funds are available the required social science research sophistication is not.

“Training conducted without research is like an automobile without a driver.”²⁰ That is to say, the whole training program is much like a driverless automobile unless its design and evaluation is accompanied by research. As far as the design is concerned, a competent training director has a great deal of literature to call upon, though much of it lacks the specificity which would most help. Though he can find aid and comfort in the findings of research that is Armed Forces financed, much additional research should be tied directly to specific portions of the organization’s program.

DePhillips and his colleagues make a strong plea for employing research methodology in the evaluation of training programs. They suggest that this approach “embraces the application of logical, reflective, and systematic thinking for the purpose of arriving at facts and principles that can be related to the solution of problems.”²¹ But why isn’t this research conducted? As suggested above, there is a financial problem; many businessmen see investigations related to human values as a waste of money; and in addition, many training directors are not equipped in research methodology. In fact, the increment of behavioral change wrought by an expensive training program, even though well conceived,

¹⁸ William McGehee and Paul W. Thayer, *Training in Business and Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1961), p. 256.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ DePhillips, Berliner, and Cribbin, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

would probably show a small return on the dollar invested. This condition is little more acceptable than giving up training altogether, and thus a dilemma which will not be solved for some time to come.

THE CONTENT DILEMMA

Part of the overall training dilemma is centered in selection of content of any particular subprogram. How does the training administrator determine what is required, for instance, in a training program designed to raise the quality of supervision? The typical program may include, among other content areas: (1) delegation; (2) getting things done through others; (3) performance appraisal; (4) motivating employees; (5) selecting subordinates; (6) building morale; (7) work simplification; and (8) planning and control. But why? Does each of the participants need to know more of each of the subjects? Do the participants, through this approach of topical arrangement, tend to dissociate each topic from the other? Are these topics, in fact, integral to growth toward more effective supervision?

Your authors believe that most of these, and many other topical headings do have a place in supervisory training but that random assignment of practicing supervisors to a training program embracing any selected few of them would be unrealistic. Much that a supervisor learns he learns because of exposure to his supervisors. A great deal of what he practices is practiced because he is subconsciously compelled to so behave. Thus content, though important, tends to be "the tail that wags the dog." One way to change this circumstance, in group training, is to design format, but to let the group choose the content out of felt needs. The mechanic is to predetermine, in a general way, the format, and when the group arrives, decide upon appropriate content through the free discussion method.²² One might well argue that felt needs are but symptomatic of "real" needs, to which the reply is that a group will, to some undetermined degree, work from one level to the other under the guidance of a well trained discussion leader. The discussion leader also needs to possess substantive knowledge in applicable areas, though in supervisory training, group leading skills are not, in the least, incompatible with the needed substantive knowledge.

INTEGRATED TRAINING

This all leads through a circle back to a previous point of insistence which is that the training program must be integrated into the organization and its incumbent processes. Training, just as does the organization, tends to become fractured and splintered into a microscopic series of events. The training man may find his day divided into small units in

²² For a description of the free discussion method, see Chapter 16.

which he, in fifteen minute, or half hour, increments: works on a training session for managers; advises on the design of a program for training typewriter repairmen; puts his stamp of approval on a request to send someone to an American Management Association sponsored three-day seminar; schedules "tailgate" safety training lectures; rejustifies certain funds which were requested for blackout curtains in the training room; describes to the graphic artist a design for a new training aid; defends his belief in sensitivity training; attempts to convince a "bull of the woods" that skills training is needed in his section; attends a training committee meeting; tries to spend a few moments reading a recent paper describing an analysis of instructional objectives, and so forth.

His very way of behaving is thus affected and he is often startled to find that at the year's end he has spent the year behaving very much as do administrators whom he has tried to counsel to do differently. How does even the best of training men bring to the organization some of the concepts that his off hour reading of Maslow, Likert, Tannenbaum, Wiener and the like led him to accept? Where does he get the time to make application of the precious little that is new from the learning theorists, and how does he get permission and support to practice some of what he has learned?

He may have to cure his own ills and attempt to understand, in depth, that which the social scientist offers and also set a daily example as the most effective training device. Hopefully those managers, executives, and supervisors through whom he works will, in some degree, emulate that part of his behavior which brings about change in the organization.

The Supervisor as a Developer

FIVE

Development of the supervisor

Having read this far, the reader may be convinced that the authors are about to launch a crusade for developing supervisors who keep everybody happy—to become, “human realtors,”¹ a term Argyris uses. It is true that much of that which has previously been written emphasizes the critical importance of interpersonal relations. That which is written on the succeeding pages also emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relations. This emphasis does not connote a rejection of the other vital factors in supervision, however. The good relations of a technically unqualified supervisor with a group of unskilled technicians may well result in little but a happy work group—perhaps! Happiness is all too often used only derisively in the literature having to do with organization, while it might well be used in connection with states of the organism seen as desirable.

The use of phrases such as *the happiness boys*, *the carrot and stick approach*, and *the be good to everybody movement*, points up a paradox. Actually those who use them in scorn know quite well that we, as a nation, basically believe that people have a right to be happy, and that “more flies are caught with honey than are caught with vinegar.” They also know, equally as well, that too many of us who supervise others find it difficult to discipline—though not because we believe that to discipline is to be un-American. We often don’t discipline because we do not have the courage to discipline. Neither do we often understand how to use discipline.

Interpersonal relationships, as the term is used in this chapter, have to do with effective relationships with subordinates. It does not suggest that a superior should be “good” to subordinates. It does suggest that quantity and quality of production is inextricably bound up with a supervisor’s ability to relate to his work group. In the superior-subordinate relationship, conversation is not restricted to only sweet words of praise for a job

¹ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 139.

well done. The supervisor's job quite naturally requires telling subordinates that, in his opinion, they need to improve. The subordinate, be he himself a supervisor or a member of the rank and file, cannot develop as an employee without having some bench mark by which to measure. Hopefully that bench mark will be a relatively accurate one for so much of the personnel development, and ultimately organizational development, is dependent on accurate assessment of employee ability.

ASSESSMENT OF ABILITY

Accurate assessment of supervisory personnel depends upon several factors: (1) an accurate description of the job, (2) a realization that there are varying leadership styles, (3) recognition of the concept of job enlargement, (4) a recognized set of performance standards, (5) an approach that emphasizes development, (6) certain abilities in the person doing the assessment, and (7) a tacit agreement that the resulting improved performance will be used by the organization.

An accurate description of the job

With any supervisory job there must be an accompanying job description. Not a description which tends to limit the growth of the incumbent, but one which both serves as a guide to understanding what management expects of him, and also serves as a place from which to start discussions of performance. As Wolf suggests, the actual procedure for describing jobs will vary from company to company, and the practice adopted will tend to be a function of the forces within a given situation.² No one method should be used universally, especially not those which tend to cause jobs to become static.

Many jobs are described accurately to begin with, but then descriptions are not updated, and are inflexible, and tend to set behavioral parameters which constrain supervisory development. These descriptions are often not updated because they are too detailed and thus too time consuming to revise. The factors used should be those that are broad and vital, such as responsibility for knowledge and continuing study, and responsibility for contracts with other employees in the organization.³

Varying leadership styles

Expectations that all supervisors should exhibit similar behavioral patterns are not in keeping with our knowledge of human nature. Successful supervision is not of any one type. In fact, past attempts to define leader-

² William B. Wolf, *The Management of Personnel* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1961), p. 210.

³ Matthew J. Murphy, "A Flexible Approach to Management Job Evaluation," *Personnel*, 37:36-43, May-June 1960.

ship in terms of leader characteristics were generally fruitless.⁴ There is a range of behavior a supervisor might exhibit and still be judged as a good leader, though he must have insight enough to be able to attempt the pattern through which he can become effective. Hopefully the forces at play in the organization, such as a superior who looks askance at deviation from a given stereotype, will not be so strong as to force the supervisor to behave in a way which is not in keeping with his own personality.⁵

Job enlargement

"It will be generally agreed that a man develops primarily through experience on his job."⁶ As the employee grows he himself may tend to enlarge upon the job that he does. There should not exist a ceiling, as best this can be arranged, but the skilled worker should be allowed to perform several operations which will result in a completed assembly, even though it is but a subassembly to go into a larger one. The assumption is that the possibility exists of restoring at least some of the personal satisfaction which allegedly accrued to the skilled artisan who made the whole shoe.⁷

Though the literature most often mentions job enlargement in connection with jobs at the rank-and-file level, its basic premise that the employee must be given more power over his own work environment is applicable to supervisory jobs.⁸

Performance standards

A job performance standard is simply a written description of *how well* a member of the organization should perform the tasks of his position. Admittedly such standards are more easily determined for those whose job it is to turn out a specific assembly than they are for persons whose job it is to guide the work of others. Peres⁹ studied the matter of identification of the performance characteristics of administrative and general supervisory positions. From the study, seven factors emerged:

⁴ Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 34.

⁵ The term personality is broad and elusive and should thus be used with caution.

⁶ Glenn D. Clark, "Creating the Conditions for Growth on the Job," *Personnel*, 38:8-16, January-February 1961.

⁷ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 66-89.

⁸ For application of the job enlargement concept at higher levels in the organization, see Edward T. Ellis, "Multiple Management," *Proceedings Texas Personnel and Management Association*, October 1955, pp. 43-48.

⁹ Sherwood H. Peres, "Performance Dimensions of Supervisory Positions," *Personnel Psychology*, 15:405-10, Winter 1962.

- Factor I —Establishment of work climate
- Factor II —Management ethics
- Factor III —Practice of self and subordinate development
- Factor IV —Personal maturity and sensitivity
- Factor V —Knowledge and execution of corporate policies and procedures
- Factor VI —Technical job knowledge
- Factor VII—General bias or halo (relates to rater)

It would seem that performance standards might be set for these factors. Not numerically, but descriptively so that the supervisor's superior would have a descriptive standard from which to start development discussions. For instance, phrases such as "is honest in discussing development of his subordinates," "doesn't make promises he can't keep," and "gives credit to originators of ideas he passes up the hierarchy" are certainly not as objective as measuring against a standard of "ten units per day," but do establish a workable bench mark.

An approach that emphasizes development

A preponderance of organizations using some system for performance appraisal employ models which stress rating. Much that is written about this kind of performance appraisal discusses the difficulties inherent in the rating process itself, mainly the unwillingness or inability of raters to use the extremes of the scale.¹⁰ It is here suggested that in lieu of rating, employee performance appraisal emphasize development. Rather than tell the employee he is poor in basic job knowledge, tell him that the organization is prepared to help him increase his job knowledge—that subsequent development discussions will follow-up on his gains in job knowledge.

Though development has received constant stress on the preceding pages, need for discipline has not been denied. If some phase of the work must be criticized, ". . . criticize the act, not the man."¹¹ If it is felt that some disciplinary action seems unavoidable, proceed slowly, giving the employee the opportunity to understand that the organization might see such action as the only alternative. Most employees are not so unreasonable that they reject completely the needs of the organization, if those needs are reasonable. Those who are truly "organizational deviates"¹² should not become the "patients" of the supervisor.

Ability of the appraiser

It is difficult to conceive of a superior in a superior-subordinate relationship being so perceptive as to be able to isolate a trait such as "perseverance" and rate it on a given scale. The appraiser should not be asked to possess this kind of ability. His success rather depends on his ability

¹⁰ Kenneth E. Richards, "Some New Insights Into Performance Appraisal," *Personnel*, 37:28-38, July-August 1960.

¹¹ Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹² See Chapter 23.

to look at his subordinates in terms of how they interact in the milieu. He is actually attempting to make some judgment of how this person contributes to organizational input as related to the share of organizational output he receives.

The ingredient which contributes the most to employee development is that, perhaps ethereal, quality termed interpersonal effectiveness. Its presence in the supervisor is dependent on his ability to understand his own motivation, which is an oft missing ability. "We think of ourselves as having certain sorts of characteristics, and even though we may act differently on occasion, these items are conveniently omitted from our picture because they do not fit."¹³ From the protection afforded him by his position of greater authority, the superior may well be able to ignore the fact that an undesirable employee response may have been stimulated by an undesirable supervisory action. It is essential that any employee charged with appraising the performance of another look to his ability to empathize, or his degree of social sensitivity.¹⁴

Hand in hand with the ability to form accurate perceptions there must go the ability to discuss those perceptions with the employee of whom they are formed. Managers, or whoever else must hold evaluation interviews, are uncomfortable when they are put in the position of playing God.¹⁵ To avoid such a predicament many have recommended that which is called the nondirective approach.¹⁶ In being nondirective the superior conducting the interview can often establish an atmosphere in which the subordinate will suggest areas for needed development.

Using the "proceeds of development"

There is much less chance for across-the-board supervisory development unless the climate of the organization is such that the opportunity exists to put the increased skill to work. The necessity of such a climate has been previously discussed in several contexts. It need only be added, at this point, that supervisory development *will not* take place except in the right climate.

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE

In the above discussion of appraisal of the supervisor, factors within the supervisory role were touched upon rather lightly. This suggests that job descriptions and performance standards will not in themselves ade-

¹³ Mason Haire, *Psychology in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1956), p. 81.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the ability to understand people, see Tannenbaum, and others, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.

¹⁵ Douglas McGregor, "An Uneasy Look at Performance Appraisal," *Harvard Business Review*, 35:89-94, May-June 1957.

¹⁶ The nondirective approach as used in appraisal interviewing is discussed in William B. Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-46.

quately serve to give complete understanding of the supervisory role. In addition there must be training using both individual and group approaches.

The individual development plan

Each supervisor should be guided, in his efforts to improve his performance, which includes understanding his role, by a plan. This plan is a product of the appraisal interviews that he has had with his superior—it is a plan that is, hopefully, mutually agreed upon. To be an effective guide it should be the subject of continuing discussions, with changes being made frequently. Once-a-year appraisal interviews, with no discussion of performance between, are of little value and may be extremely irritating to the supervisor subjected to them. To illustrate the development plan,¹⁷ the sample on the following pages is given. Note that form itself gives only a minimum of specific guidance to the persons making it out. Also note that the form *is not* filled out prior to the appraisal interview, though the superior should give much serious thought to the matter at hand before the meeting. It is strongly urged that only areas of agreement be recorded in the main portion of the plan.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN

FOR	<u>George Matcall</u>	DATE	<u>December 18, 1963</u>
POSITION	<u>Supervisor, plating shop</u>		
DATE OF APPOINTMENT	<u>June 12, 1961</u>		

This plan, other than in any exceptions noted, is a mutually agreed upon product of the supervisory employee named above and his immediate supervisor.

ESTABLISHMENT OF WORK CLIMATE. Toward this goal, George has performed quite well. To improve his total effort, we agree that he might best concentrate on what tends to be his weakest area—that of expecting less of his employees than he might. To help develop in this area he will (1) be assigned to the training sessions in establishing performance standards, (2) discuss the development plans for his employees with me in detail, (3) review the details of the performance standards for his group with group members and with John Mars of the personnel office.

MANAGEMENT ETHICS. We agree that George maintains high ethical standards in general. However he and I have a little trouble communicating in this area because of some confusion about what is honest and what is betrayal of confidence in discussing the development of his employees with me. It seems that, for the moment, he and I will have to discuss this matter more frequently and in greater depth until mutual understanding is reached.

¹⁷ For the sake of uniformity of approach the factors from the Peres article (with one addition) previously cited will be used in this hypothetical plan.

PRACTICE OF SELF AND SUBORDINATE DEVELOPMENT. As a result of the discussions held with George, and previous discussions with his fellow supervisors, we have all agreed that I will contact the Training Director to ask for help in designing some training-problem solving sessions in which I and all my supervisors can discuss employee development.

PERSONAL MATURITY AND SENSITIVITY. George has developed a great deal since his promotion to a supervisory position. The problem area discussed above, though related to maturity, is not indicative of his general level of maturity. As an aid in furthering development, George wishes to join a sensitivity training group when this can be arranged. I agree and will submit his name to the Training Director for such training but with the provision that he is not to have the training until after the completion of Contract X-7134 which is scheduled for completion on March 15, 1963.

KNOWLEDGE AND EXECUTION OF CORPORATE POLICIES AND PROCEDURES. There seems to be no need for immediate development here, though we have agreed that we will maintain a flow of complete information in our division regarding policy and procedure changes.

TECHNICAL JOB KNOWLEDGE. George has done an excellent job of keeping up with technical changes. He has attended many night school courses, paying his own tuition. Because of his sincerity in this area, we have agreed to attempt to enter him in future applicable courses under the company tuition reimbursement plan.

QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF PRODUCTION. George's unit has a generally good production record. The unit has met all of its deadlines and has not had a greater number of rejects than the quality control standards allow. We feel, however, that production records will improve as George improves in his ability to set performance standards and to obtain adherence to them.

GENERAL BIAS. As we discussed his performance, George and I dwelled for some time on the extent that my personal prejudices entered my appraisal of his work. He felt, and I think that he has some basis for the feeling, that I may overstress employee development. I have promised to discuss this with all the supervisors who report to me.

EMPLOYEE'S STATEMENT	SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT	NEXT SCHEDULED MEETING FOR DEVELOPMENT PLAN REVISION
I have nothing to add. The discussion held with Mr. Danish was fair.	I was extremely pleased with the discussion. George was not in the least defensive at sug- gested areas for devel- opment.	12 June, 1963
<i>George Matcall</i>	<i>Nathan Danish</i>	

Superior-subordinate discussions

It will be noted that the accompanying plan will require, for its successful implementation, a close contact between the superior and his subordinate. These discussions should include reports of progress, new insights and tentative plan changes. Though the plan is a major part of any continuing discussion, those discussions should not be limited to the plan but should include any and all matters both feel that they would like to discuss.

Paperwork

Though the accompanying development plan is hypothetical and the factors contained in it are used as illustrative, the plan itself might well have application in many organizational environments. Those who would criticize it probably would point to the fact that it contains too few of all possible applicable factors and also to the fact that it doesn't constitute a quantitative record for the personnel jacket, for as Lopez states. "The first requirement of any useful appraisal device . . . is that it be quantifiable."¹⁸

In regard to the first criticism, one could certainly employ the total 3,056 statements describing supervisory behavior that Peres reported in his study.¹⁹ They would be employed, however, only to the end of having more paperwork. Factors used in appraisal toward development are basically used only as guides and stimulation toward better superior-subordinate relationships. The more definitive the factors the more difficult the employment for the purpose of development. Excessive paperwork usually does more harm than good, and many otherwise good plans have been smothered under the weight of accompanying paper.

In regard to the quantitative aspects of appraisal and development plans, there is no evidence to indicate a sophistication in quantifying behavioral factors. Further, there seems to be no justification for filing the suggested appraisal plan anywhere but in the superior's desk, to be destroyed upon its revision. Lack of paperwork is a detriment to an overall promotional program only if that program relies too heavily on paperwork. However, hopefully, much thought will be given to the possibility of the kind of appraisal information which can eventually be quantified and become a part of the feedback loop.

¹⁸ Felix M. Lopez, Jr., "Developing an Employee Performance-Appraisal Plan," *Employee Performance Appraisal Re-examined*, Personnel Report No. 613 (Chicago: Public Personnel Association), p. 12.

¹⁹ Peres, *op. cit.*

Responsibility upward

A supervisor does not comprehend his role in isolation, nor does the organization look at his performance in isolation. There must be, to the personnel management function, an overall integrated structure. In the majority of cases, it seems, the pattern for organization of the personnel function is determined by the top management group, with the personnel executive having little influence. Some companies use councils or committees to determine the structure.²⁰ The point is that in most organizations, the personnel management function is seen, as is training, as a separate and unique function which includes the accountability for appraisal and development activity.

The above hypothetical development plan, on the other hand, calls for integrated action by line and staff, especially the personnel and training staff members. The responsibility is retained in the line with our hypothetical Mr. Metcall reporting his efforts to develop employees to his superior, Mr. Danish, and Mr. Danish reporting his efforts to develop to his superior; and so it would go up the hierarchy to the top.

Though the point is a subtle one, it is this kind of upward movement of responsibility that helps each level of supervisor understand his role. Through this procedure he gets feedback from both above and below relating to the various perceptions of the supervisory role, and he gets ample opportunity to discuss the differences in perception.

WHO GETS PROMOTED?

To this point, some of what might be called "the hard reality" of organizational life has not been touched upon. Can anyone guarantee that the supervisor who has developed himself, with the help of the organization and through self-development activities, will be favored for promotion? Of course, the answer is no. Despite the proven need for the socially aware supervisor who feels the desire for continuous self-development, his success in climbing the organizational ladder cannot be guaranteed.

Self-development

A supervisor may be positively stimulated to develop his skills. On the other hand, his drive to develop may have come from negative reaction to conditions in the organization. In either case the supervisor may outstrip the organizational climate, for the warm, people-centered social climate postulated by the consultative and participative approach to su-

²⁰ For a discussion of patterns of organization of the personnel management function, see Dalton E. McFarland, *Cooperation and Conflict in Personnel Administration*, an AFMR study (New York: American Foundation for Management Research, 1962), p. 16ff.

pervision is often diametrically opposed to that practiced by the top executives of the organization. The top executives are usually pushers, prodders, and go-getters. Under such circumstances it is difficult for lower supervisors to practice the human relations approach which is taught to them in the very training classes authorized by top management.²¹

"When we view human relations as a scientific discipline, with both basic and applied branches, there is little reason to doubt that it is here to stay. Rather than being a fad or fashion, it is as fundamental as man's relationship to man."²² This is to say that drive toward self-development is an important ingredient in the advance of American institutions and organizations. Some pioneers will sacrifice, and some who lay behind waiting for the front runners to tire may thus capitalize. Each person involved will have to look to his own ethical standards for the answer as to what form his organizational behavior will take.

Seniority

"Most collective bargaining agreements provide for changes in employee status to be based on seniority."²³ Not only is this true in collective bargaining, for seniority becomes that easily quantifiable factor which makes for easy selection and promotion procedures. Though merit rating, so-called, has its limitations, managers having to choose between it and seniority, as a factor in work-force adjustments, regard merit rating as the lesser evil.²⁴ Nevertheless, the answer to the question of who gets promoted is all too often, "seniority"—in preference to the turmoil of having to decide who has developed a high degree of social awareness.

The "crown prince"

In many instances there are men in the organization who are seen as "crown princes." They, most everybody feels, get the promotions whether or not they have developed as well as have their peers. It is rather difficult to give the specially eager and competent all the development they can absorb without raising the cry of crown prince. On the other hand, there are many crown princes who are just that because they are quite willing to say yes at the right time or are willing to play golf with the right people. In fact, the crown prince may get the promotion someone else has earned.

²¹ Chris Argyris, "Leadership Pattern in the Plant," *Harvard Business Review*, 32:63-75, January-February 1954; and Edwin A. Fleishman, "Leadership Climate, Human Relations Training, and Supervisory Development," *Personnel Psychology*, 6:205-22, 1953.

²² Tannenbaum *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²³ Dale D. McConkey, "Ability vs. Seniority in Promotion and Layoff," *Personnel*, 37:51-57, May-June 1960.

²⁴ Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

Reality

It must be recognized that strict attention to one's own development does not guarantee promotion. Many other factors may intervene. Realistically, the company may reward the long time employee for his faithfulness by promotion. "To promote for seniority is to reward a kind of behavior that is valuable to the company and is a social asset at the same time."²⁵ Withholding promotion, on the other hand, may be used as punishment. Promotion may be withheld for a variety of reasons, including punishment for the otherwise capable man who does not fit the organizational stereotype of the desirable supervisor. Promotional patterns abound, some being built on a sound rationale, some approach being quixotic.

All that has been suggested relative to supervisory development has been said with no promise of promotion for adhering thereto. It has rather been suggested because it is seen as a way toward developing sounder supervision and thus eventually developing a sounder organization; and too, because of a belief that the human personality is a developing organism which will have need for development whether or not promotion is gained.

DEVELOPING THE SUPERVISOR AS A DEVELOPER

An underlying premise of this complete writing is that the ability of the supervisor to stimulate the development of his subordinates is of primary importance to the organization. It is one of the most difficult abilities he has to develop, however, for while on the one hand it can be tremendously rewarding, on the other it can be extremely threatening. But what is even more germane is that the man who eventually becomes a supervisor grows up in a culture which generally perceives people as objects-of-use. This perception is illustrated by the salesman and the advertiser who "size-up" the customer as they look for the weak spot which they can exploit in order to persuade him to buy their product. Schachtel calls this the culturally patterned autocentric view of people which he suggests is ubiquitous in our civilization.²⁶

Emphasis

With no intention of wishing to relegate the need for *imparting information* and *developing skill* to a meaningless position in the development of the supervisor, it must be strongly suggested that these are not sufficient to do the complete job of supervisory training. In addition, that

²⁵ Haire, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁶ Ernest G. Schachtel, *Metamorphosis* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 174.

training must attempt to *modify attitudes* and *create opportunities for change*.²⁷ As a matter of fact, creating conditions for behavior change is a critical aspect of supervisory training and should receive major emphasis.

A description

Though in recent years the pattern has been changing to some extent, much supervisory training is done in sessions that meet one or two hours at a time and have a period between of anywhere from twenty-four hours to seven days. These short periods for training can be employed for the dissemination of information, but put too great a strain on a group in which the goals are related to behavioral change, and in which the governing principles are the same, or similar to those suggested by Gibb and his associates:

1. *Atmosphere*. The effective problem-solving group has a physical atmosphere conducive to problem orientation and is large enough to permit maximum experience background and small enough to permit maximum participation and minimal threat.
2. *Threat Reduction*. Pleasant interpersonal relationships reduce threat and permit shift of orientation from interpersonal problems to group goals.
3. *Distributive Leadership*. Distribution of leadership maximizes problem involvement and permits maximum distribution of member growth.
4. *Goal Formulation*. Explicit goal formulation increases the group well-being and increases involvement in the decision-making process.
5. *Flexibility*. Groups should formulate agenda which should be followed until new goals are formulated on the basis of new needs.
6. *Consensus*. The decision-making process should continue until the group formulates a solution upon which it can form a consensus.
7. *Process Awareness*. Awareness of group processes increases the likelihood of goal orientation and allows for more rapid modification of goals or subgoals.
8. *Continual Evaluation*. Continual evaluation of goals and activities permits catharsis and intelligent modification of the problem-solving process at any stage of decision-making.²⁸

The reader will note the several references to *problem-solving*, *decision-making* and *goal orientation* in the above citation. Using these terms brings an extremely important point to focus. The point is that training in groups and participation in problem-solving groups should proceed in similar fashion so that there is carry over from one to the other. The problem-solving groups should be concerned with group dynamics, and the training groups should be concerned with goal orientation. Training

²⁷ For a discussion of these factors see Stanley E. Seashore, "The Training of Leaders for Effective Human Relations," *Some Applications of Behavioral Science Research*, a report prepared for the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior and distributed in the United States through UNESCO Publications Center (New York: National Agency for International Publications, Inc., 1955).

²⁸ J. R. Gibb, Grace N. Platts, and Lorraine F. Miller, *Dynamics of Participative Groups* (New York: John Swift and Co., Inc., 1951), pp. 1-2.

groups should revolve around the solving of actual problems as the participants feel those problems on their job. If the agenda for the training sessions can be held flexible, supervisors can be asked to contribute the problems for discussion, either before or during the sessions, and also decide which problem they would prefer to discuss first.²⁹

On-the-job aspects

“Undoubtedly, the most important training of all is that provided by the supervisor’s immediate superior in day-by-day contact and periodic appraisal.”³⁰ The group training sessions, the training which is part of regular problem-solving conferences, and the individual approaches³¹ used as a part of the development of the supervisor, succeed or fail depending on the strength of the developmental component of the superior-subordinate relationship. The supervisor should be coached, the coaching being an integral part of the day-to-day superior-subordinate relationship, relating to all aspects of the job. A partial list of those aspects includes work planning and organization; industry and company background; management philosophy; union management relationships; wage administration; delegation of authority; responsibility; methods improvement and work simplification; good housekeeping; the grievance procedure, and development of self and others.³²

Development of self and others

The supervisor, in great part, learns to develop others through sort of an osmotic process. It is true that special training emphasis must be made on matters such as the individual needs of his subordinates, the dynamics of group participation, leadership, and performance appraisal; but the training toward ability to develop others doesn’t easily separate out of the overall training of the supervisor. Even though the group training he participates in consists of peers, insights gained are applicable to his attempts to relate to his subordinates. In a vertical grouping, the insights he gains in working out relationships with persons of higher level can also be seen as applicable to his relationship with his own subordinates.

It can be argued, of course, that the ego may postpone action or possibly inhibit action completely. That is, it may not allow the individual to internalize from what happens in the group setting, immediately, or

²⁹ Lydia Strong, “Introduction,” Elizabeth Marting, *AMA Encyclopedia of Supervisory Training* (New York: American Management Association, 1961), p. xix.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

³¹ See Chapter 15 for a discussion of Individual Approaches.

³² For an extensive list of subjects for supervisory training see the subject guide, Elizabeth Marting, *AMA Encyclopedia of Supervisory Training* (New York: American Management Association, 1961).

perhaps at all. Further it might be argued that the specific insight, even if gained might not become generalized—the supervisor might not be able to understand that his subordinates react in the same way to specific treatment by a superior as he does. To help make the connection, a well-qualified group leader must help. To assist in this respect, in the superior-subordinate coaching situation, the superior must be highly effective in his interpersonal relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter has basically attempted to show that development of the supervisor must constitute an integrated process. His development, especially as it relates to his ability to develop others, proceeds continuously. It must, however, be aided by competent leaders in group training and by superiors who themselves are highly effective in an interpersonal sense.

Individual and organization needs

Used as it is in this chapter, the word *needs* does not suggest determination in a mystic session over the crystal ball or around the ouija board. An organization needs certain input factors with which to produce satisfactory output. The human organism also needs certain input if it is to have an output. It is true that all that happens between input and output may be strange and mysterious, but present day level of sophistication includes some very strong notions of the relationship of these two extremes. In this chapter we shall view, in somewhat abbreviated form, the needs of both the organization and the people populating it, and then in the next, examine suggestions for reconciliation of what seems to be the contrary nature of certain of the needs discussed.

Chapter

20

Much of the literature dealing with formal organization suggests that effective management can only come to pass when structure of, and practice in, organization is such that all the needs of the participating organisms are met. A rather strong statement to this effect is that "the good foreman or supervisor attempts to work with his men within the framework of their wants and needs."¹ This sort of thinking is traceable to our belief in the dignity of man and in his high moral purpose, or perhaps is traceable to the guilt that man in society carries in his subconscious. Whatever the case, we are dealing with our societal mores for "members of an organization generally come to it already equipped with the mores of the society in which it operates."² The mos that man must be treated

¹ William E. Parker and Robert W. Kleemeier, *Human Relations in Supervision* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1951), p. 109.

² Chris Argyris, "Excerpts from 'Organization of a Bank,'" Albert H. Rubenstein and Chadwick J. Haberstroh, eds., *Some Theories of Organization* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 210.

with dignity may be a troublesome one because it readily incites differential perception and also becomes a ready rationalization. Not hitting an employee may be seen as treating him kindly, whereas making degrading remarks to him, as demeaning as that may be, may be seen as culturally acceptable.

The nature of needs

Many of man's needs, other than the very basic, such as the needs for love, sustenance, and shelter may best be described as being subject to shifting. As McGregor points out, discovering and subsequently fulfilling need may only shift those needs to a higher order.³ This particular insight into the nature of needs is extremely important to our present considerations, for it suggests a course for supervision other than that of being a consistent-behaving Diogenes of the "interpersonal underworld"⁴ looking for an honest need to satisfy.

It would seem that there are needs which few could argue against having fulfilled through man's contact with organization. He must have income with which to provide for the physical needs of his family. A warm, healthy workplace is also needed for physiological well being. Certainly man must have some of his egoistic needs met—must find himself wanted, creative, etc. Too, some proportion of his social needs must also be met. But is it possible to specifically fulfill a plethora of needs, for in fact, beyond the more basic needs, identification is difficult; and too as suggested above, many needs when fulfilled are replaced by other needs of a higher order.

In a sense, Lewin could have been talking to this point when he said "I do not consider as a part of the psychological field at any given time those sections of the physical or social world which do not affect the life space of the person at that time."⁵ The life space of the employee, during his working hours may not be affected by certain of his felt needs, for many of these are best met at other sources: home, church, professional society, service club, or recreation facility. It well may be that in trying to meet other than very basic needs, the organization may, in fact, be forcing the employee to accept something out of fear of being branded as a nonconformist.

³ Douglas McGregor, "The Human Side of Enterprise," Rubenstein and Haberstroh, *ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ With apologies to William C. Schutz, who used the term as a title of an article: William C. Schutz, "The Interpersonal Underworld," *Harvard Business Review*, 36:123-35, July-August 1958.

⁵ Kurt Lewin, "Defining the Field at a Given Time," Albert H. Rubenstein and Chadwick J. Haberstroh (eds.), *Some Theories of Organization* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 58. (An article reprinted from *Psychological Review*, 50:292-310, 1943.)

Needs as tension

Lewin "used the concept of *tension* for motivation or need."⁶ He saw tension being discharged, not only when the goal was reached, but also in those cases where a substitute goal was reached.⁷ This suggests, when applied to fulfilling needs or alleviating tensions, that within the framework of the work situation, needs only appear as strong or weak in relationship to the attractiveness of a particular goal. That which tends to be a need for a relatively unattainable goal, might be fulfilled if a substitute goal can be made to look relatively more attractive. Lewin called goal attractiveness, or relative attractiveness of the goal, valence; and valence changes.⁸

For the purposes of our present discussion the point is that as we have discussed equilibrium for the organization, we might also see the individual organism as being in equilibrium under certain conditions of need fulfillment. Lewin seemed to have been working with a concept of equilibrium of the forces in the field,⁹ a concept which might well constitute a rationale for an organization structure which would provide for equilibrium both in the organization and in the organism. This sort of balancing of valences, or forces, would allow for a more realistic look at the numbers and kinds of needs which might or might not upset equilibrium.

Neglected needs

If equilibrium of the organism is to be maintained, there are some needs which our narrow interpretation of the Christian ethic would suggest that it is incumbent upon us to neglect, for instance, to handle the individual and societal needs for both dominance and submission. The very success of the functioning of our society demands a relationship described as domination and submission.¹⁰ Though the need to be dominated does not supply justification for returning to the supervisory ways of the "bull of the woods" approach, its rejection as a need serves to illustrate some of the selective cognition which can take place in those who would lean toward *laissez-faire* supervision because of inability to perform a more vigorous supervision.

As a matter of fact the Christian ethic must be interpreted quite narrowly to mould it to the point where it provides desired rationalizations.

⁶ Edwin G. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950), p. 726.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ See Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 279.

⁹ Boring, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ See C. T. Hardwick and B. J. Landuyt, *Administrative Strategy* (New York: Simmons-Boardman Publishing Corporation, 1961), p. 91.

Hardwick and Landuyt make an interesting point in the matter of what is and is not acceptable within Christian cultures. They suggest that one way to get followership in an organization is to frighten the followers. Though they agree that their proposal is shocking at first glance, they suggest that fear is actually an effective and commonly used avenue of conversion, and its use is accepted in the highest Judeo-Christian cultures.¹¹

Adaptive reasoning qualities

Crucial to the belief of your authors is what March and Simon call the "adaptive reasoning qualities of the organism."¹² It suggests that the organism has the capability of adapting to an organizational situation designed, not to seek out particular needs to meet, but to fulfill a range of needs as would be manifest in the "normal" situation—the situation in which needs from employee to employee differ and in which needs within the particular employee shift. Stated another way, it might be said that needs tend to shift to meet the capacity of the organization to meet needs. This might be done without upsetting equilibrium of the individual or organization, or in the terminology Krupp uses: "The boat may roll, but it cannot tip."¹³

There is a circularity to the matter of the fulfillment of needs, and one which the reasoning qualities of the organism might well let it grasp. That circularity, or loop effect, has to do with the relationship of what employees put into the organization, and what they take out. "The members of an organization . . . contribute to the organization in return for the inducements that the organization offers them."¹⁴ Within the context of this chapter, this means that much of the individual's need fulfillment is made possible by the manner in which that individual responds to the needs of the organization—in an input sense and not in the sense of filling unreasonable interpersonal needs of supervision and management.

Conceptual framework

Human needs subjected to measurement and inserted into some sort of formula will, within realistic limits of significance, indicate organizational equilibrium. Equilibrium could be indicated in "go—no go" terms, meaning that the organization could be operating within a range on a continuum between complete equilibrium and catastrophic instability. It

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹² See James G. March and Herbert Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958).

¹³ Sherman Krupp, *Pattern in Organization Analysis* (New York: Chilton Company, Book Division, 1961), p. 35.

¹⁴ Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), p. 111.

would be inherent in the "go" situation that reasonable individual equilibrium was being maintained. Before the reader seeks this hypothetical formula, let him be assured that it exists only in suggestion on these pages. Its inclusion here will, hopefully, only serve to help put the problem of need satisfaction into perspective.

Any formula (and this would be a mathematical formula which could be programmed in even the less complicated computers¹⁵) realistically conceived would indicate the need for recognizing need, for careful selection of included variables and for understanding the nature of those variables. The variables related to human needs would have to share a place with a wide variety of others. Also considered would be, as a partial list: (1) needs of individuals at other than rank and file level; (2) need meeting capacity of the organization and of its managerial and supervisory personnel; (3) willingness and capacity of each employee to contribute to output; (4) the effect of the culture within which the organization operates; (5) the organization's ability to draw on the creative abilities it has to call upon; (6) ability to constantly adjust to a changing society and especially to what this means in the way of product acceptance, and (7) ability of the organization to manage the financial aspects integral to equilibrium.

Then too, our examination would indicate that specificity of need determination is not an essential element. It is, in fact, impossible of accomplishment. For instance, historically, "each step in the direction of growing individuation threatened people with new insecurities."¹⁶ These insecurities came in great part because people lost the ties that gave them security. Thus powerful tendencies arise to escape from freedom into some kind of relationship which might relieve uncertainty but might also deprive the individual of his freedom.¹⁷ Within the organizational setting this need might manifest itself in many ways, possibly indicating any of a number of specific needs. These would, of course, be rather "symptom than cause" and their fulfillment would be hollow.

Need fulfillment

Let us remember that the greatest potential for need fulfillment lies within the superior-subordinate relationship. In this relationship the individual can be treated as an entity and not as a collection of behaviors. The supervisor's training will thus be not so complex as to bring under-

¹⁵ Kaplan holds hope for the contribution of mathematics in the study of man much as it has contributed to the understanding of the rest of nature. See Abraham Kaplan, "Sociology Learns the Language of Mathematics," Rubenstein and Haberstroh, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹⁶ Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1941), pp. 36-37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

standing of which syndrome is related to which illness and subsequent understanding of how to control behavior by attaching the syndrome to illness. Too much of organization practice is devised to control illness, and neurotic needs, and too little is calculated to let the healthy constructive need hold sway.

ORGANIZATION NEEDS

"Personality can be understood only as we see it on a trajectory toward its future: a man can understand himself only as he projects himself forward."¹⁸ Organization has a tendency to treat personality as stagnant, mired in the guilt of the springboard of that evolutionary trajectory, and thus fails to take a stance which sees the "peopling" of organization as constructive. Perhaps if managers could "take comfort from the fact that at least the founders of our family line were educated in the higher branches,"¹⁹ they could assume a stance of confidence in relationship to their respective work forces. This is one of the greatest needs of organization.

Ordered system

If the organization was able to survive in a static state, then its need for confidence in those populating it, as well as most of its other pressing needs, would be of much less significance. The fact of the matter is, however, that both culture and the organism follow an evolutionary path. Thus a very basic need of organization, as it is swept up in this process, is to find some way to order the *natural process of change*. It would seem that any such ordering would be based in the past in much the same way that the psychiatrist uses the past to achieve stability. Not that this procedure inhibits progress, for it rather gives the opportunity for the articulation of a value system which gives needed stability against which change can be planned. Actually, most change is crash change under crises during which it is felt that little room can be permitted for mistake making.

Ordering of the system usually takes the form of bureaucratic organization, probably for the reason, as Weber put it, that bureaucratic organization has advanced because of its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization.²⁰ This type of organization "offers optimum

¹⁸ Rollo May, "The Origins and Significance of the Existential Movement in Psychology," Rollo May, Ernest Angel and Henri F. Ellenberger, eds., *Existence: A New Dimension in Psychiatry and Psychology* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958), p. 69.

¹⁹ Ralph Linton, *Tree of Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), p. 4.

²⁰ Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," Rubenstein and Haberstroh, *op. cit.*, p. 72. (Originally appeared in *From Max Weber* by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. A Galaxy Book. Copyright 1946 by Oxford University Press.)

possibility of carrying through the principle of administrative functions according to purely objective considerations.”²¹ Once a bureaucratic system is established, however, it is amongst the most difficult of social systems to destroy or change, in part because the administrative functionary is but one small cog in the machinery and thus the machinery is not very responsive to him. The need at this point is the organizational need for a responsive system—one which can change and order the process through successive evolutionary stages.

Creativity needed

Less than creativity does little for the organization in its plunge from crisis to crisis, but creativity seldom arises in crisis situations. This kind of creativity has been described as playful, or irrelevant, creativity. The term suggests that creativity may well rise out of the irrelevant, or at least that which seems irrelevant to management. This leads us to a pressing need of organization, that of possessing a degree of security which will allow for failure. Most present day organizations assess rather awesome penalties for failure of the irrelevant action, though they may condone failure through planned action or action taken in conformance with managerial folkways.

It is not only as related to organization growth but also as related to growth of the organism that tolerance for failure is needed. If organizational tasks are assigned so as to allow only success for those to whom they are assigned, there may be resultant success but there has been no success experience. On the other hand when tasks which are consistently too difficult are assigned, the result is total lack of success experience, and only frustration or withdrawal or some like reaction will result. Failure can stimulate growth and must be tolerated by organization, though it must be remembered that the failure or failures are only momentary during progress toward a realistically set goal.²²

Conformance

Much that has been written throughout these pages would tend to label conformance as a “dirty word.” It is not, of course, and need for conformance is legitimate though perhaps slightly tinged with traces of irrationality. The need for conformance is self evident, though all too often management requests “blind” conformance, which in most instances begets less than what is requested. When blind conformance seems to be in evidence, one might wonder what those conforming are otherwise doing in

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²² To pursue the matter of success and failure in the learning process, see Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), pp. 276-78.

retaliation—where they are psychologically throwing their *sabots* into the administrative machinery.

Many writers feel, as does Likert, that “the group knows the value of constructive conformity and knows when to use it and for what purposes.”²³ However, in keeping with suggestions throughout other chapters, even constructive conformity is not easily attained when it is to some ethereal proposal having to do with the overall organizational good. Conformance is more easily attained within a small group which has articulated for itself a value system which is related to a larger value system. When such groups gain a cohesiveness through approaching problems in a cooperative manner, its members develop a tendency to provide and accept support designed to remove threat, and thus the group is allowed to move toward its goal.²⁴

Leadership

Though controversy rages as to the kind of leadership an organization needs, it would be exceedingly difficult to find any serious proposals for eliminating leadership altogether. Through leadership, it is generally conceived, policy will be set, plans will be laid, men and materials supplied, plant and capital either supplied or requested, and all these coordinated to conform to a pattern which will produce satisfactory output. To do all this leaders must be selected to (1) plan, (2) organize, (3) direct, (4) coordinate, and (5) control.

The tasks for the manager are well set out, and therefore it should automatically follow that a manager is subsequently selected, with ease, to perform these tasks, but of course he is not. Selection of the manager who can coordinate the activities of the tightly knit social system of which he is “in charge” takes personal qualifications much more difficult to ascertain than does measuring knowledge in the field of management principles and practices. Organization has a desperate need for being able to identify the potential manager; not the manager who can operate well at the first hierarchical level alone, but who can operate in a variety of situations at most any level of the hierarchy.

Involvement

Involvement of its employees is another of management's stronger needs. It needs to have individuals who will be able to perceive whatever opportunities exist to be an individual, but an individual who is involved in the

²³ Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 168.

²⁴ See Albert Pepitone and George Reichling, “Group Cohesiveness and the Expression of Hostility,” Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 150.

whole process. As one observes a particular employee both in and out of the organization, one might wonder at the greater the involvement the employee has in a Boy Scout troop or church activity than he has in his work. And one might note how he often appears to be more individual away from work. Organization both needs involvement of its employees, and in addition, the ability to create a situation in which the involvement can take place.

SKILLED SUPERVISION REQUIRED

To this point, minimum emphasis has been put upon the need of the organization to predict accurately the market for its product, skillfully purchase supplies, schedule the transportation of its products, provide for plant refurbishing, etc. This is not an oversight but is deliberate, partly because of the purpose of the volume and partly because the knowledges and skills required in those areas are generally more readily acquired. The discussion that has been pursued once again leads to an emphasis on the need for what your authors have called clinical supervision: supervision through which both the superior and subordinate concerned can exercise their inherent curiosity, creativity, and desire for new experiences and thus grow.

Understanding of the forces at work

Organization needs, at all hierarchical levels, supervisors who have an understanding of the needs of organization and the needs of the people populating it. For instance, it seems quite popular to believe that leadership must overcome resistance to change so that the organization can maintain pace and thus stay healthy. The insistence on the need to overcome resistance to change, and to any other number of management's desires, constitutes emphasis on pathology. Change is of a basic natural law in our universe, and it will take place. We should not emphasize the pathology but should emphasize the ordering of the *natural process of change*.

Because this ordering will be accomplished in the main through supervisory activities, those in supervisory positions need to be trained in the social sciences. The training must go beyond the memorization of research data to the assimilation of the data into the behavior of the trainee. Behavioral change must be the target; and though change in behavior itself will help greatly, hopefully the training process will go beyond helping the supervisor to behave "properly" to a point where his basic attitude is congruent with his behavior.

Leadership

Creative leadership in the sense here proposed will not actually lead to the creation of an immediately recognizable product, for if we under-

stand the literature, the ultimate in leadership is not to minimize resistance to change and thus create change. Rather, it is to lead people so that their creative tendencies become operant and they by this means institute change. The creative leader then would seldom be immediately identified as creative or as actually *doing* very much, in fact. And herein the "canker begins to gnaw." Much of what may be the very best of supervisory practices, may bring to the person practicing it nothing in the way of what he has learned to strive for in life.

Needs of the supervisor

If, for instance, as Likert reports, the ego motives are "the desire to achieve and maintain a sense of personal worth and importance,"²⁵ how does the supervisor orient himself so that he can identify personal worth and importance with a new criterion? How much reorientation is required so that he can gain self-esteem from successes that few others identify similarly? The answer lies beyond the mere training of the supervisory employee. Perhaps "like the Tin Woodsman without a heart on his way to visit the Wizard of Oz, we journey toward the future,"²⁶ we who are so vitally interested in melding the emotional and mechanical in organization, "hoping that some genial genie will show us how to put meaning into mechanized living."²⁷

²⁵ Likert, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²⁶ Mauree Applegate, *Everybody's Business—Our Children* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1952), p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Reconciling individual and organization needs

Conflict does exist between the needs of the healthy individual and the formal organization. Resolution of a greater part of this conflict has been, in many ways, underway for some time. The history of this movement is traced in varying degrees throughout this volume though not necessarily identified as resolution of conflict of needs. In this chapter, no additional historical material will be dealt with, but rather suggestions will be made which deal with possible means to more rapid resolution of the existing "people-organization" conflict.

Chapter 21

Orientation of employees has long been one of the most popular and broadly used training programs in organization, though all too often that orientation has been based on what the company wants the new employee to know and do. The organization certainly has a right to attempt to stimulate behavior which will work toward fulfillment of the organization's needs. However, such attempts, when they conflict with the individual needs concerned, may all too often work against the needs of the organization. Despite the fact that orientation programs can aid in the resolution of the needs conflict, they often add to the conflict.

Program methodology

The methodology for giving orientation varies from brief group sessions to rather lengthy and complicated programs which combine group sessions, guidance by a "buddy"¹ supervisory consultation and orientation check sheets. Though orientation can conceivably be too long and embrace too much material, this is not often the case. Usually it is far too cursory, particularly for the person hired at the higher levels of the hierarchy.

To best assist in fulfilling the purpose for which orientation programs

¹ The "buddy" is often a senior worker who guides the new employee through the early stages of his employment.

are designed, *which is to help the employee affected adjust to a new work situation*, the methodology employed must be flexible. The flexibility is dictated by a number of factors such as varying degrees of sophistication of the new employee, status needs which tend to differ for employees hired at various levels of the organization, ability of "kinds" of employees to conceive of the broader organization goals, varying relative degree of skills held as related to degree of skill needed to perform the assigned task, and differing employee needs for the security the new position might afford.

These factors relate to both the needs of the individual new employees and the needs of the organization. The orientation of the new employee must, because of the variations in the needs relationships, be tailored to each particular circumstance, and the only mechanism for so doing is the superior-subordinate relationship. Most of the orientation should be dictated by those discoveries the supervisor can make about the new employee. Based upon these determinations, the supervisor might determine that a tour of the plant should be made, the new employee should have a meeting with the president, attendance at a group orientation session is in order, the new employee should work with an older journeyman for a specified period, an immediate refresher course in some pertinent subject matter area is required, etc. This approach assumes that the superior is well trained in the art of supervision, but even of greater importance at this point, that he finds that he has made some satisfactory adjustment between his own needs and those of the organization.

Program content

If the supervisor attempting to orient others and those others are to succeed in this endeavor (seeing to it that the new employee adjusts to the work situation, at least partially through an attempt to resolve the needs conflict), the organization wants and desires must be carefully determined. With too great a frequency the employee is admonished to take a close look at himself to see why he has trouble being loyal to the organization when the organization itself is asking for a blind loyalty which may have no rational basis. In addition there is clear indication that much of the orientation content is based upon value judgment or perhaps on the needs of those in charge of the orientation. One person in charge of orienting another may see to it that the orientee meets the secretary of the company chess club or the person in charge of the company recreation program, because he thinks these activities important. Garland, surveying the desires of new employees at Corning Glass Works, found that these sorts of introductions were felt to be unimportant by new monthly employees.²

² See Cecil G. Garland, "Orientation of New Monthly Employees," *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, 15:22-23, August 1961.

MORALE IS NOT HAPPINESS

At the outset it should be thoroughly understood that as the pendulum of employee treatment has swung from the master-slave extreme, it has tended to overcompensate and swing past the realistic resolution of needs conflict to a point where the organization felt that it was forced to disperse happiness. Thus meeting needs has often become sponsoring softball teams, putting soft drink machines at each hall intersection, giving 5, 10, 15, 25, and 30 year pins in a pompous ceremony, opening a company gas station, building a swimming pool on the grounds, putting ping pong tables in rest rooms, and so forth.

Morale is not happiness but may be more accurately defined as "group persistence in the pursuit of collective purposes."³ The entire issue is greatly confused, and understandably so for the whole matter of group effort in organization tends to be full of seeming paradox. Any given paradox may exist only in the mind of he who perceives it, but certainly the supervisor cannot be stripped of all opportunity to rationalize and still maintain mental health. To reconcile his own needs with those of the organization the individual supervisor must recognize his needs for some escape of the pressure of "reality." However, it must be clearly understood within the management-supervisory hierarchy that, when judging supervisory competence, the approach is not so unsophisticated as to consider employee happiness as a principal judgmental factor.

VERTICAL TRAINING

If a first or second line supervisor is to know that his superior understands some of his problems, understands that happiness is not morale or even necessarily indicative of productivity, there must be some communications device for accomplishing this end. Clinical supervision is the basic device, but it can be aided by vertical training sessions—training sessions in which several levels of the hierarchy participate.

Approach controversial

Though your authors feel that, if carefully handled, vertical training efforts can be of tremendous value, the concept is highly controversial in some quarters. Those who do not like vertical training generally take a very tenacious stance. They feel that putting higher supervisors in training sessions with subordinates one or more levels beneath them in the hierarchy puts them at a tremendous disadvantage, in fact, puts them

³ H. D. Lasswell, *Morale: Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), p. 640.

in a vulnerable position stripped of all their traditional and legitimate defenses.

For reconciling needs

There is little doubt that vertical training can be extremely threatening to the participants even in a well-designed efficiently run session. Albeit the threat is extant, it is little different from the threat felt in the day-to-day organizational atmosphere. This threat is constituted, in the main, by the impact of people on their working associates⁴ and is an impact that we perceive ourselves as being in receipt of but seldom as generating. Vertical training run as a sort of interpersonal laboratory gives the group leader a chance to focus on this impact so as to help those with the stronger negative impact on others get some feedback related to the effect of their behavior on others.

The need in question is the employee need to talk about the reaction he experiences to the behavior of his superiors. In a training session with his peers, the first line supervisor can commiserate but only to the avail of some sort of catharsis which he can reach at a poker session, in the company lunch room, or over an after-work beer. If the training session has in it participants from different hierarchical levels, the reactions generated can help the participants to see the need for behavioral change. By no means is the session one in which feedback is obtained toward the possible change in superior behavior alone, however, for it is rather unrealistic to presume that all needs resolution can be effected by superiors alone. Subordinates must also look at themselves and their impact on their superiors.

*Free discussion*⁵

The vertical training sessions are not in themselves the complete means to the end of conflict resolution. That which is accomplished in these sessions must be carried into the day-to-day operations—must be used in staff meetings, task force work, superior-subordinate relationships, etc. Resolution of conflict of needs cannot be accomplished unless the expression of those needs is allowed and unless the individuals concerned can deal with that expression. The expression of a need does not automatically lead to its resolution. Free discussion is not a method by which needs are immediately resolved in favor of the superior, the subordinate, or the organization. It is rather a method in which the participants give and take, the

⁴ In relationship to these observations, the reader will find many important observations in Robert Tannenbaum, Irving R. Weschler, and Fred Massarik, *Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), pp. 119-222.

⁵ Refer to Chapter 16 for an introduction to free discussion and sensitivity training.

organization does the same, and all concerned can conceive of consensus within realistic boundaries.

NEEDS AND INDIVIDUALITY

The critics of sensitivity training and free discussion are quick to condemn these as approaches to the reduction of individuality. The criticism is difficult for those of us who work with these approaches to understand, other than as an ego protective device. Usually, it is the autocratic atmosphere which forbids individuality and which squelches the person who insists on individual expression. Many industrial organizations point proudly at their dynamic executives who they say are complete and self-sustained individuals. The fact of the matter is that these executives are seldom organizational iconoclasts but are more often selected because they conform to a stereotype—often it seems, a stereotype that sees paranoid tendencies as dynamism.

Crucial to the success of participative techniques is the acceptance of individuality—acceptance of the employee who sees the organization and its processes differently from the way the average employee sees them. Though his ideas may not necessarily be good, they may, just because they are different, force closer examination, evaluation and clarification of the organizational plans, policies, and procedures.⁶ Too, acceptance of ideas which are often symptomatic of needs or of direct statements of needs helps toward resolution of the conflict between those needs and the needs of the organization.

Related to discipline

Barnard suggests that there is a temptation to avoid such basic considerations as what an individual is and to what extent an individual has a power of choice.⁷ If needs conflict is to be resolved, new and concentrated attention must be given to the matter of individuality as a need and its destruction through negative discipline. There is no reasonable doubt that some sort of discipline is still required for the effective functioning of a social system. It must be remembered, however, that most disciplinary procedures in organization tend to meet the needs neither of the organization nor the individual. For the individual they tend to produce pure unrelated punishment, and for the organization they tend to provide a means for doing "something" as opposed to letting the individual "get away with it."

All too often the deviant behavior which brings on discipline is but part

⁶ Edwin E. Ghiselli, "Individuality as a Factor in the Success of Management Personnel," *Personnel Psychology*, 13:1-10, Spring 1960.

⁷ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of an Executive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 8.

of a syndrome indicating conflict of the individual's needs and the needs the organization claims should be filled for meeting the need of maximum production. Opponents of free discussion will, at times,⁸ admit that free discussion constitutes for them a cruel kind of punishment. Without belaboring the point, your authors suggest that far from stifling individuality, free discussion probably promotes it. In fact, free discussion (and sensitivity training) can help to handle disciplinary problems, for it gives a laboratory in which the person making the judgment that discipline has been breached and he who breaches it can make more realistic judgments about when individuality becomes deviant behavior. In fact, it is a laboratory through which the organization may be forced to a more healthy view of the value of discipline and procedures for disciplinary action.

SUPERIOR-SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

To a high degree, the preceeding pages have suggested that resolution of the needs conflict, as between the needs of the organization and the needs of the employees in the organization, lies within the superior-subordinate matrix. It must be remembered that these observations are based on the realization that the superior-subordinate chain encompasses the entire hierarchy. The resolution of needs conflict is seldom achieved at any one level of that hierarchy, but the attempt to so reduce conflict must pervade the hierarchy. Ability to participate in activities calculated to reduce needs tension is every bit, if not more, important at the managerial levels than it is at the first line of supervision.

Management development

Management development, sometimes called executive development, is a portion of the total training program⁹ calculated to help managers develop to their maximum potential. This effort is indeed essential to reducing conflict brought about by the inability to adjust the variety of needs within the organization. The methodology employed for training managers usually differs from that used for training supervisors and is less guided by the manager's needs for effective functioning in his role as a supervisor. It should be noted, however, that industrial and business organizations are using variations of the sensitivity training approach with increasing frequency.

This training does not, too often, get related to supervisory counseling

⁸ Such times may be those comfortable and relaxed "over a Martini" discussions with sensitivity group leaders.

⁹ Many organizations separate their management development efforts from their basic training programs. The reasons for the separation are not often related to efforts to make training an integral part of the organization.

efforts at the managerial levels. "As numerous reports have abundantly testified, the superior is often reluctant to do this counseling, and the subordinate responds to it with either defensiveness or anxiety."¹⁰ One of the approaches through which managers can overcome their resistance to the counseling relationship is that of coaching.¹¹ Coaching has not achieved widespread, enthusiastic acceptance for a variety of reasons: (1) there is lack of time for coaching; (2) there is little freedom for making mistakes; (3) the dependency needs of subordinates are rejected; (4) rivalry is repressed; and (5) relationships that one has in the organization go unexamined.¹²

Thus it is rather easy to see that the probability of examining the very personal needs of people in their organization is still difficult for the executive or manager at the top who feels that he has too great a responsibility for overall operation to take the time to work through the complicated needs problems of his subordinates. This refusal leads to absence for the stimulation needed for the rigorous appraisal of the needs he expresses for the organization.

Both superior and subordinate have an obligation

If a basic assumption of organizational life is that individuals cannot adjust adequately to that life, little hope can be held out for increased productivity and consequently for the so-called "better society." However, if on the one hand some balance of the obligations of both superior and subordinate can be conceived of and if on the other hand the organism can be seen as adaptive and reasoning, hope is abundant. The balance of obligation at this point still has not been achieved. As long as it seems necessary to view organization as a pyramid, and as long as it is necessary to employ management "controls," employees will tend to experience indications of psychological immaturity.¹³

Much of what has been previously advocated has assumed that despite the traditional pyramidal structure, obligation of employees at the various hierarchical levels can be somewhat more evenly proportioned. This assumption may indicate a prejudice on the part of your authors and may have caused them at times to pursue another avenue—that of variation in the present structure. However, it seems to us that all possibilities for seeking acceptance of responsibility by all members of the organization have not been explored to the fullest. But as a matter of fact, it must be

¹⁰ Earl R. Zack, "An Integrated Approach to Management Development," *Personnel*, 38:51-60, September-October 1961.

¹¹ Coaching is described in Chapter 15.

¹² See Harry Levinson, "A Psychologist Looks at Executive Development," *Harvard Business Review*, 40:69-75, September-October 1962.

¹³ Chris Argyris, "The Organization: What Makes It Healthy?" *Harvard Business Review*, 36:107-16, November-December 1958.

recognized that the traditional structure is ubiquitous only because few, if any, alternatives have ever been proposed. The matter will be explored further in Chapter 25.

MANAGERIAL EMPATHY

Until a new structure is found the obligation of those at the managerial or executive levels will remain greater than for other employees. They are the organization to the remaining employees and their needs tend to become the organizational needs. For instance, though it is well recognized that the organization must require some degree of conformance, that degree becomes stifling of growth when filtered through the needs systems of the executive level, which though it constitutes but a small percentage of employee strength, constitutes a great percentage of the *power* within the organization.

From time to time, above, the term empathy has been used as denoting an objective, impersonal recognition of the significance of another person's behavior.¹⁴ The term has been used in psychoanalysis to distinguish empathy as intellectual identification in contrast to affective identification. As a tool for increased managerial effectiveness, empathy should not involve the kind of emotional sapping of energy that is thought of as going hand in hand with sympathy. Its use suggests that a manager be intellectually capable of understanding how a subordinate perceives his relationship to the organization. As so used the strict definition of the term somewhat restricts that which would help the manager better understand the needs as the subordinate feels them. If he, the manager, identifies with the subordinate's need at a purely intellectual level, he, of course, may be launched toward a better understanding of that need. If he does it with no emotional involvement, however, there may be little impetus toward doing something about it. If on the other hand he invests too much emotional involvement, his energy would be depleted long before the end of a working week.

Therefore the term empathy is an accurate descriptive up to a point but falls somewhat short of describing the end of identifying with both individual and organization needs and their ultimate existence within the same framework. Managerial empathy, as proposed, is indeed an important adjunct to organizational effectiveness, but must be accompanied by an additional involvement which will stimulate the kinds of action leading toward full managerial involvement in the diverse needs which are found in modern organization. Free discussion and sensitivity training are means to this kind of involvement—perhaps through stimulation by threat, but hopefully through the wish to disassociate with an image which feedback shows to have been projected.

¹⁴ See the definition in Phillip Lawrence Harriman, *The New Dictionary of Psychology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947).

NEEDS DETERMINATION

Previously the remark was made that a course for supervision, at all levels, should be one other than that of being a consistent-behaving Diogenes looking for an honest need to satisfy. Though made a bit tongue in cheek, the remark was made out of the experience of watching many supervisors attempting to meet what they saw as a need for the sake of maintaining popularity. Needs of either the individual employee or of the organization are not simply determined. As to individual needs, Schutz suggests that needs are both conscious and unconscious. As an example, he points to drug addiction wherein the conscious need is to satisfy the immediate craving and to thus reduce the pain, where the unconscious need is to adjust the body chemistry back to the state where the drug is no longer required.¹⁵

The needs of the organization may be categorized, with license, similarly. The most obvious need is all too often the manager's conscious need for a nonmistake-making work force, while the unconscious need is for the kind of mistakes which will act as stimulus to inventive action. The needs that are verbalized are not always the most important ones, and may merely be symptomatic of the unconscious need for fulfilment. For instance, meeting the need for interpersonal recognition through assigning a task, the completion of which might well bring this recognition, may be of much greater importance than meeting the expressed needs of ping-pong tables in the lunch room, blue badges with gold trim, the opportunity to eat in a special dining room, and the like.

Shifting needs

Each of the readers may remember how his own personal needs have modified: (1) the need for a jalopy which shifted to a need for a Chevrolet, thence to a Buick and thence to an Imperial; (2) the need that shifted from a house with a combined living-dining room to one with a formal dining room plus a study; (3) a shifting of needs from nice appearing suits to Brooks Brothers clothing, and (4) the need for a dry Martini to a very dry Martini made with Beefeater's.

The individual needs within the organizational milieu similarly shift from, for example, a desk of the employee's "very own" to an office with windows and thence to a rug on the floor, or from acceptance of one's journeyman peers to acceptance by the vice-president level. Granted that this is part of the pattern of organizational life, it nonetheless illustrates the ability of the organism to feel strongly a great range of needs. Organizational needs may similarly shift from being seen as a reliable company

¹⁵ William C. Schutz, *Firo: A Three-Dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 16.

with an excellent product to one which is a leader of the industry (as suggested by their own advertising); employs only Ph.D.'s for certain jobs; or spent the most for research and development in the past fiscal year.

Basic to reconciling individual and organization needs is the accurate determination of those needs. All too often it becomes an attempt to cure by treating symptoms while the malignancy flourishes—all too often it becomes a perceiving of the pathology with disregard to the healthy potential.

Dealing with the organizational deviate

Burling feels that an employment interviewer who is adequately trained, and experienced, is just about as skillfull as is a psychiatrist in spotting gross personality disorders.¹ His statement lends support to the proposition that the supervisor, a layman so to speak, can be trained to detect cases involving personality difficulty. It seems that though this detection is possible, there are some cautions to be applied. Two of the most important of these are that training toward the kind of awareness involved has to be of more depth than is the traditional supervisory training, and that organization must make careful redefinition of what an *organizational deviate* is.

Chapter 22

Supervisors and managers tend to define the organizational deviate as that person who gives them trouble—the person who will not conform to the point where he will allow both supervision and management to spend the bulk of the work day dealing with the less emotionally threatening problems of ordering materials, repairing machines, expanding plant, etc. All too often the term organizational deviate becomes synonymous with the popular term “boat rocker.” Innovative behavior is thus often discouraged because its very presence forces organizational action which requires far more energy than do the other “normal” and more comfortable daily pursuits.

For instance, ability to penetrate below the immediate and obvious may well be a characteristic which is associated with innovative behavior.² Its

¹ Temple Burling, “Psychiatry in Industry,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 8:30-37, October 1954.

² See Garlie A. Forehand and Harold Guetzkow, “Characteristics Related to Innovative Administrative Behavior in Varying Organizational Climates,” Bernard J. James, Harold Guetzkow, Garlie A. Forehand, and William L. Libby, Jr., *Education for Innovative Behavior in Executives*, The University of Chicago, 1962, pp. III-I to III-II, mimeographed.

exercise, on the other hand, may be easily interpreted as a challenge to authority and for the purposes of managerial convenience be branded as deviant behavior. The point is that the organization must, before dealing with organizational deviation, understand that it is quite easy to see potential illness in healthy and stimulating behavior.

This chapter is based on the premise that the organizational deviant is, though with some exception, the same sort of person that competent professionals would judge to exhibit deviant behavior in society. The matter is not a simple one for it involves definition of judgments about acceptable behavior, about deviation from the mean of behavior, about what standard deviation suggests in regard to acceptable behavior, and whether or not an organism which can adjust to daily contact with society can adjust to what may be the greater stress of modern "organization life."

Some symptoms

The symptoms which may identify the organizational deviate include constant pursual of something at which to take offense; contesting being asked to perform a task which is not specifically stated in a job description; consistent playing of politics to the exclusion of satisfactory performance of assigned tasks; being preoccupied with winning friends and influencing people; refusing to take action unless "all" the facts are presented; putting the tools of the job away and cleaning up the work site thirty minutes before quitting time; and the continuous one-day sick leave taking on a Monday or Friday or the day after pay day. Though these are symptoms directly related to performance on the job, there are also those to be considered which are not job related, directly, such as the one which comes to light upon the consistent receipt of letters complaining about non-payment of debts.

These are symptoms which may well indicate that the employee is not able to perform effectively over a period of time in an organization. They are of a nature which makes it possible for the supervisor to spot them as *indicating* attendant emotional problems. But they are symptomatic of some causative factor and not the causative condition itself.

Treat disease, not symptom

The reader is cautioned, at this point, to strive for the establishment of a realistic stance. The assumption of that stance must come only after many understandings have been achieved, foremost among which is a clear perception of what may have become an old and tired cliché, an understanding that you treat disease of any kind and not the symptom. Supervisors must learn that the taking of continuous one-day sick leave is generally not susceptible to treatment, but that which in the personality is causing the employee to so behave, must be treated.

Though supervisors can be trained to recognize the symptoms which indicate deviant behavior, it is unrealistic to believe, that along with their many other duties, they can perform a direct therapeutic function. The supervisor must clearly learn to make the distinction between symptoms indicating problems conducive to solution in the superior-subordinate relationships and those symptoms which indicate need for professional help. In no case must he be led astray by the misguided notion that treating the symptom is a productive endeavor.

TRAINING THE SUPERVISOR

Because the matter has been dealt with in several varied contexts throughout this volume, the suggestion needs only reinforcement at this point. The matter in question is the adequate training of the supervisor. It must be training in depth which is calculated to go beyond the rote memorization of "good" supervisory principles toward the inculcation of behavior which will assist in making for a more generally productive organization. Argyris hypothesizes that "present organizational strategies developed by administrators (be they industrial, educational, governmental, or trade union) lead to human and organizational decay."³ This includes, as your authors see it, the *strategy of training*. The use of the training function may, for many administrators, constitute a strategy calculated to obtain conformity to a generally used pattern of employing training to reduce the moment of a variety of problems. If training is a strategy, it is a strategy which has only permanent and significant impact if it, in fact, results in changed patterns of behavior.

Sensitivity training

The training which is generally known as sensitivity training is, to date, the only kind of training which holds promise of helping directly to change behavior, and perhaps attitude. This approach as used in supervisory and managerial training has been subject to a great deal of abuse both by those employing it and those observing it. It, however, tends to be the only method of creating a laboratory in which participating supervisors and managers tend to develop a degree of mutual trust and openness through which they will really "level" with each other. It has been the only training in which the supervisor can get some sort of honest feedback as to how he affects others. Though no organization should blindly build it into a supervisory training program, no organization should be blind to its promise of helping to build toward the evolutionary kinds of change in behavior without which survival is left to chance.

³ Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962), p. 1.

THE SUPERVISOR AS CLINICIAN

As this chapter is being written, there is a great controversy raging in California. It has to do with whether or not "lay" administrators should head mental hospitals. The controversy may be a sort of "Custer's Last Stand" with the psychiatric profession bravely holding forth against a great tide of desire for increased interpersonal effectiveness within the total society. There will probably never be a great enough number of the psychiatrically trained professionals to satisfy the need in the society and the organization. The profession, it seems, must retreat to a *far higher calling*—that of stimulating and guiding the masses toward better mental health. There is no question that having adequate numbers of psychiatrically trained counselors in the plant or office is financially impossible. Thus the job of performing the clinical task at some adequate level of performance must fall to the supervisor, and this includes the stimulation of intellectual and emotional growth and accurate recognition of deviant and potential deviant behavior but excludes treatment in the sense that a professional treats emotional problems.

Coddling versus therapeutic effect

Though, as explained at several points above, use of words such as clinician and therapeutic raises a great hue and cry in certain professional groups, their use here pays tribute to those very concepts these groups have so patiently nurtured. Too, their use seems necessary to emphasize the point that coddling of employees is usually done because of the coddler's need to be loved (liked, admired, respected, or whatever term best fits the reader's frame of reference) and not because coddling fosters intellectual and emotional growth. By therapeutic effect, it is meant, not that which has to do with medical treatment, but rather that condition which permits and even encourages growth. This tends to further suggest a healing or curative process. It is an effect that is achieved through application of sound social science principles which do not include overindulgence of the employee in an attempt to keep him happy.

Behaving in a clinical manner

The clinical disciplines have a common fund of knowledge, even though their theories may differ radically. It has been pointed out that the successful administrator, in dealing with dissatisfied employees, probably handles the situation intuitively in much the same manner as a psychiatrist handles psycho-neurotic cases.⁴ The differences in theory and doctrine

⁴ F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939).

may be so radical that one psychologist will not speak to another, and a psychiatrist will be highly critical of the nonmedical psychologist. The experimental branches of these disciplines, concerned with the methodology of natural science, controlled experiments, and statistical measurements, tend to be hypercritical of the clinical disciplines dealing with dynamic interpersonal relationships.

It seems that there is a clinical procedure, more pragmatic than profound, that is practiced intuitively by persons having good interpersonal relations and that this procedure can be taught to supervisors within certain broad limits. The elements of this approach can be summarized briefly thus:

1. The supervisor will be conditioned to do his duty courageously, facing rather than running away from his personnel problems.
2. He will be taught a simple procedure for objective fact finding in personnel cases.
3. He will be taught to control his emotions and to appear before other people as an emotionally stable personality.
4. He will be taught the art of listening, which is a universal clinical technique.
5. He will be informed on the limits of his own competence in dealing with aggravated situations and know when, how, and on whom to call for special help in such instances.

Individual differences

This approach presupposes the psychology of individual differences. Modern social science is beginning to reveal to us the respects in which people are different and the respects in which they are alike. While the maintenance of a stable organization is to an undefined extent dependent upon conformity to established norms of conduct, we are beginning to realize that people can differ in many respects and still belong to an efficient working team. Indeed, modern social democracy is probably establishing a legal right to be different. Certainly it is the essence of good supervision to consider the peculiarities of each individual as a separate problem and to attempt to deal with them with appropriate variations.

There is nevertheless a pattern of the types of behavior manifested by workers and disliked by supervisors. This pattern emerges in essential uniformity during any series of discussions attended by persons with supervisory experience on any level. Thus, while each individual case has peculiar aspects of its own, there is also another respect in which each seems to fit into some category or combination of categories of this overall pattern. This is important from the standpoint of scientific approach because classification of data is the basis of science. Continued research and study may develop ways and means whereby the supervisor may be able to isolate the causes of abnormal work behavior and take appropriate corrective steps.

PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE

Elton Mayo advanced the thesis that the increasingly complicated nature of life under modern industrial conditions creates tremendous stresses and strains upon the individual. To support this viewpoint he quoted French sociologists of the nineteenth century such as Durkheim, who noted that the increase of suicide coincided with industrial expansion. Mayo pointed out that in the agrarian society which preceded industrialization, the worker had the security of a definite role in his community. People knew him and made allowances for his idiosyncrasies.⁵ Today, there is little evidence that either the broader society or the organizational society has much tolerance for idiosyncrasy. This lack creates many of the problems now extant in personnel management. The problem requires, for its resolution, professional assistance in helping (1) to design organizations in which people can stay emotionally healthy, (2) to describe the role of clinical supervision, (3) to design the training program which will help in strengthening the superior-subordinate relationship, and (4) in directly staffing the organizational unit which is to deal with the problems of deviant behavior not responding to clinical supervision. The first three of these areas of assistance have been discussed in several other places, leaving need but for discussion of clinical counseling in business, industry, and government.

Clinical counseling

During World War II there was a widespread development of employee counseling in both government and industry. Central staffs were established to take care of the personal problems of employees as well as of personal maladjustment in the work situation. The major impetus to this development probably came from the entry of hundreds of thousands of women into factory employment and the migration of similar numbers to Washington and elsewhere for government clerical employment. The social disorganization of their personal lives created such stresses that it became an economy for the employer to establish counseling services designed to encourage them to stay on the job. Listed below is a summary of the problems handled over a three-year period in the counseling program of a federal agency.⁶ It will be noted that the first two items, constituting nearly half in frequency, have to do with housing and personal finance.

In the factories, the chief problems accompanying the influx of women

⁵ Elton Mayo, *Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1945).

⁶ Margaret E. Barron, "Employee Counseling in a Federal Agency," *Personnel Administration*, March 1942, pp. 1-10.

SHOWING TYPES OF COUNSELING PROBLEMS OCCURRING IN A PROGRAM,
RANKED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR FREQUENCY OVER A
THREE-YEAR PERIOD

1. Housing	1,333
2. Financial and budgeting	1,046
3. Vocational and educational guidance	877
4. Information	841
5. Miscellaneous	489
6. Health	439
7. Group health and group hospitalization	401
8. Adjustment to community; general orientation	389
9. Adjustment to job	279
10. Family	238
11. Emotional or personality disturbance	139
12. Adjustment to human relations on job	93
13. Marital	82
14. Legal	63
15. Mental illness	52
16. Maternity leave	51
17. Insurance	16

had to do with their adjustment from a home environment with high sanitation and cleanliness to a factory with much lower standards along these lines. Particularly did factory washrooms cause a vexing problem. Perhaps the point at which a woman in industry had to make a major adjustment was in remaining a housewife and mother while working a factory shift. Working in a factory created problems of marketing, house cleaning, and laundry; and working on the swing or graveyard shift aggravated the difficulty, particularly when there were growing children at home who might have managed on their own if their mother worked a day shift. The immediate supervision of women in the factory was at first viewed with a great deal of apprehension by the male supervisors, but as time went on such anxiety was proved to be largely without foundation. The major problems of a personal nature were mostly external to the work situation in origin; and only in a lesser degree were they concerned with the relationship between the immediate supervisor and the worker.

From these beginnings other counseling programs were started, such as that at Caterpillar Tractor which was primarily medical in approach and from which the following table is presented for comparison with the preceding wartime program.⁷

Clinical counseling in organization takes many forms today, though there is increasing evidence to the effect that the term is being used more to describe the staff person who applies psychological principles to the

⁷ See Harold A. Vonachen, Joseph M. Mason, and Hilton H. Kronebert, "Study of Five Years of Employee Counseling in an Industrial Hygiene Program," *AMA Archives of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Medicine*, 10:91-123, August 1954.

CLASSIFICATION OF CONSULTATION CASES
 ACCORDING TO SYMPTOMS OR COMPLAINTS
 558 CASES COUNSELED AT CATERPILLAR TRACTOR COMPANY

<i>Symptoms; Disturbance</i>	<i>Separated Group</i>		<i>Inactive Group</i>		<i>Combined Group</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Nervousness; anxiety syndrome	45	19.5	61	18.7	106	19.0
Psychotic tendencies	42	18.2	54	16.5	96	17.2
Psychosomatic complaints	18	7.8	42	12.8	60	10.8
Marital and family problems	21	9.1	34	10.4	55	9.9
Immaturity	16	6.9	32	9.8	48	8.6
Job dissatisfaction	16	6.9	31	9.5	47	8.4
Troublesome psychopathy	26	11.3	19	5.8	45	8.1
Alcoholism; problem drinking	13	5.6	17	5.2	30	5.4
Limited mental facility	13	5.6	10	3.1	23	4.1
Unclassified	21	9.1	27	8.2	48	8.5
Total	231	100.0	327	100.0	558	100.0

study of the individual. He is increasingly filling a role different from that of the vocational counselor, and the guidance counselor, for instance. His role is becoming one of using modern clinical techniques to study the employees referred to him and either taking a course of corrective action within the organization, or of recommending that the needed course of action does not lie within the capabilities of the organization.⁸

Outside assistance

It is not economically feasible, nor, as far as it can be presently determined, emotionally wise to provide for all the needs of the individual within the organizational setting. How far the company is willing to go in helping to solve the problems of the person exhibiting serious deviant behavior is a matter for much further serious study. Whatever the course now

⁸ For a discussion of the value of clinical counseling in industry, see Charles E. Barry, "Clinical Counseling—Its Value in Industry," *Personnel Journal*, 42:21-24, January 1963.

taken, or the course of action planned, there seems to be little doubt that the business, industrial, and governmental bureaucracies must cooperate in the total societal effort to strengthen whatever institutions are needed for helping the members of the society adjust to an ever changing "way of life."

TEAM APPROACH

Dealing with the organizational deviate requires a team approach, so to speak, through which all forces at play may be dealt with from the several points of view concerned, and through which the organizational climate can be adjusted.

Social climate of the organization

Under the typical type of management the rapport necessary for an effective approach would not be possible. In the first place, the delegation of authority is not sufficiently clean-cut so that the lower supervisors know what is expected of them in dealing with those whom they ostensibly supervise. Second, those in authority are often indifferent to the personal problems of employees, expecting them to perform according to orders—or else. Third, the supervisors, like most human beings, dislike those contacts with employees that promise to be not entirely pleasant. Fourth, supervisors have not been trained or conditioned in the professional modes of handling troubled human beings. Fifth, supervisors are under such pressure to get out the work, to meet production schedules or deadlines, that they are disinclined to spend the time required to listen to a troubled employee. Examination of these conditions makes it rather obvious that use of a team approach will necessitate, first, some modification of traditional management practices, and from there will require training in depth.

Only then will it be possible to begin to hold team members accountable for their responsibilities in spotting and helping to overcome employee maladjustment. It is sound in principle to employ professionally trained persons to assist in the problems related to employee maladjustment and behavioral deviation, but not in keeping with sound principle to let line supervisory personnel shift the bulk of this responsibility to them. The line people do just this in a large proportion of cases as a way of avoiding unpleasantness.

Sidestepping responsibility

Because line supervision does tend to sidestep this unpleasantness, management must (1) insist that they accept their responsibility; (2) support their attempts to perform in their role of clinical supervision; (3) practice

clinical supervision themselves, and (4) see to it that the clinical counselors back up the line. The counseling staff should never become a refuge for malingerers who are perfectly capable of fulfilling their job obligations. Du Pont psychiatrists conducted an experiment in dealing with persons whom they suspected of falling in this category. The objective was to stop appeasing and coddling malingerers, and the method pursued was to tell the supervisors to expect specific performance of persons sent back to the job. The result was that a large number recovered; they were able to perform on the job when both the staff counselors and supervisors collaborated to require performance.⁹

The supervisor's responsibilities

The question quite naturally arises as to just what a line supervisor, who is uninformed on medicine and psychology, can do in the way of handling problem employees.

It is not the function of management or supervision to cure and rehabilitate an emotionally defective adult. This is not within the province of the employer, any more than is diagnosing a case of appendicitis and performing the requisite surgery. If the employee is ill, either physically or emotionally, he should be directed to a competent specialist.

This referral process, itself, is far from easy. Although much progress is being made in educating the public to recognize that emotional illness is illness, it is still surrounded by shock, horror, resistance, and shame. Suggesting to a person that he could profit from psychotherapy requires the utmost tact, and in many cases the suggestion will be doomed to failure. However, if the supervisor sincerely feels that one of his employees stands in need of this expert care, he should hold a completely private conference with the person and suggest that he seek it.

How does the supervisor know to whom the employee should be referred? The local medical association can provide the names of psychiatrists, who are doctors of medicine with special training in determining whether organic pathology exists, and in treating behavior disorders with organic etiology or somatic symptoms. In the larger cities, Alcoholics Anonymous is listed in the telephone books. The Community Chest or Metropolitan Welfare Council will have a directory of social agencies and clinics which handle the various specialized types of cases.

Professional specialists in the diagnosis and treatment of behavior disorders are called "clinical psychologists." (Not all psychologists are clinical psychologists.) Whereas the typical psychiatric trainee after five full years of medical training has had a one-semester course in medical psychology and in clinical psychiatry, a course of clinical demonstrations,

⁹ Gerald Gordon, "Industrial Psychiatry—Five-Year Plant Experience," *Industrial Medicine and Surgery*, 21:585-88, December 1952.

and perhaps a month of clinical clerkship in psychiatry, the adequately trained clinical psychologist has had two or three full years of graduate work in psychology and a year's clinical internship, as well as training in research tools and methods. No ethical psychologist undertakes to administer psychotherapy until the client has been examined by a competent medical doctor, in order that any organic impairment may be discovered. The annual directory of the American Psychological Association includes a section listing its members by geographical location, and the alphabetical listing gives their training and specialties. In many cases, referral might be made to a clinical psychologist rather than to a psychiatrist.

But these instances will occur rarely. In the vast majority of cases, the supervisor knows that there is no actual disorder. For one reason or another, pressures have built up within the employee, and he is becoming more of a liability than an asset to himself and to others. The supervisor can help him remove obstacles in the way of changing himself. It seems pretty well agreed that upward of three-quarters of the problem cases can be satisfactorily straightened out without dismissal.

There is strong reluctance to enter into a program of personal counseling. The supervisor fears that the worker will resent reference to shortcomings, and he also has a deeply ingrained feeling that the work relationship is not concerned with anything except production. Counseling is diametrically opposed to the "hire and fire" theory of motivation, the principle that the only way to deal with maladjustments is to get rid of those who are so afflicted. It is difficult for many supervisors to replace this attitude with the belief that workers must find in their jobs security and recognition, and that they need initial training and sympathetic guidance to achieve them. Such guidance must come from supervisors who must, themselves, feel secure and who must be brought to a more sensitive understanding of the emotional fears, conflicts, and satisfactions of those under them.

**Special Areas and
Trends**

SIX

The supervision of women

For men assigned the task of writing about the supervision of women, the wisest approach might be to emulate that of a well known personality. This celebrity had on his bookshelves a single copy of a volume he had authored. It was titled, *What I know About Economics*, and when a prospective reader picked it up and thumbed its pages, he found them blank. Some discussion of the matter seems necessary, however, for there are a tremendous number of women in organizations who are to be supervised and are to supervise.

Chapter 23

Reporting on a three day symposium entitled, "The Potential of Women," sponsored by the San Francisco Medical Center of the University of California, Marine made several interesting observations related to the present discussion. Of women in general, he reported as a synopsis of the proceedings:

Women are the victims of a cultural stereotype, but this is because they themselves insist on it and like it that way. They can break loose, individually, and begin to attain their potential only when they are willing to look a few conventions in the eye and calculatedly spit. And before this happens on any large scale, a lot of both men and women are going to have to learn that the distinction between "man" and "woman" is not as we might think, even physically.¹

Masculinity-femininity

Reporter Marine noted some comments by author-poet Marya Mannes and psychologist Eleanor Maccoby relative to masculinity and femininity.²

¹ Gene Marine, "New Look at the Oldest Difference," *The Nation* (March 23, 1963), pp. 247-49.

² Masculinity-femininity primarily refers to the individual's possession of the typical well-developed secondary sex characteristics.

He reported Mannes as suggesting that:

. . . women are obsessed with an ideal of femininity as the guarantee of happiness. Be thin, be smart, be gay, be sexy, be soft-spoken. Get new slipcovers, learn new recipes, have bright children, further your man's career, help the community, drive the car, smile.³

In reporting Maccoby, Marine felt that she suggested much that other speakers did in saying, "Each human being, male or female . . . is composed of both male and female components and . . . the proportion of one to the other varies widely in each person."⁴

The indication is, of course, that the differences in masculinity and femininity are not as basic and broad as they seem but that cultural forces cause them to be so conceived. Male emancipation from female dominance, the admonition of the male not to be a "sissy" and the female not to be a "tomboy" and the complications of the official morality sponsored by women in the family certainly combine with other factors to cause the adult male group to engage, to a large extent, in a reaction against feminine influence.⁵

BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

There are, however, distinct biological differences between men and women. Unique to her sex, the life cycle for women includes menstruation, child bearing, nursing (generally), and the menopause. It is unlikely that these variations in physiological experience would not mean accompanying differences in personality for women in contrast to men.⁶ The biological differences, it seems, are in themselves not of too much significance except as they have a part in developing the personality. However, divergent views do exist as to the reflection of physiological sex differences in personality.⁷ One complication that does arise directly out of biological differences is the sexual or quasi-sexual relationships which can be predicted for most mixed working groups.⁸ This of course poses supervisory problems that not only complicate work relationships but extend beyond the organization itself.

THE GIRL CHILD

It is not our purpose here to trace the psychogenesis of the problems related to the supervision of any particular woman. Rather, it does seem appropriate to make some note of the fact that even the boy and girl

³ Marine, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 238-39.

⁶ Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952), p. 515.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 516.

⁸ Caplow, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

being brought up in the same family will be subjected to widely differing forces. For instance, the possibility that the mother will interfere to a greater extent in the relationship of father to daughter, than of father to son, suggests a different environment for daughter and son—and perhaps conflict of mother and daughter leading to even greater differences in emotional status of the grown girl and the grown boy.

Child rearing for girls

Despite the suggestion above of a possible area for different child rearing patterns for boys and girls, there seems to be no conclusive evidence that differential patterns do exist. Sears and his colleagues claim that there is little information available that would definitely suggest distinguishable patterns of child rearing for boys and girls. They did in their investigations, however, conclude that a child's sex and his ordinal position in the family do place him in a particular social role.⁹

Does it matter?

For the supervisor of women, be he man or woman, the growth patterns of the girl child do matter, though it matters only as it constitutes background knowledge needed for a broader understanding of the people with whom he works. Despite the usage of terms such as clinical supervision and therapeutic role, nowhere has this writing suggested that the supervisor be a diagnostician. It does, however, often call for a greater understanding of the individual differences in the human resource with which he works.

Is there a difference?

This question along with many others relative to the mysteries of how man's personality is formed, is controversial. The supervisor will have to make up his mind, but before doing so he should inquire rather broadly. If he follows the ideas of Freud he will believe that there is a sharp division between the male and female character which is established at puberty.¹⁰ The suggestion of a basic difference, whether it came from Freudian concepts or elsewhere, is rather broadly held in personnel management of the present day. The suggestion of Jucius that human relations are a bit more important in dealing with women,¹¹ is rather typical

⁹ Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Macoby, and Harry Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 396. Note: ordinal position refers to whether the child is the only, middle, first, etc., child.

¹⁰ Sigmund Freud, "The Transformation of Puberty," translated and edited by A. A. Brill, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1938), p. 604-29.

¹¹ Michael J. Jucius, *Personnel Management* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959), p. 618.

of the beliefs held. It is only fair to point out however that though he suggests as just noted, Jucius does say: "Perhaps the most serious mistake that management can make in dealing with women employees is to start with the assumption that they are radically different from men."¹² As objectively as he can, the supervisor should look at ability to perform a set of tasks without reference to sex difference.

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

It is generally believed that the attitudes and values of women differ from those of men. If this be accurate, the fact that it affects organizational relationships of men and women certainly does not stem only from the attitudes and values that women alone hold. The occupational competition existing between men and women is complicated by the guilt feelings of men and also by the fact both sexes have been trained to avoid competition as it manifests itself in the occupational situation.¹³ Thus the matter is not so uncomplicated as to be determined by the lone variable of women's attitudes and values, despite the significant part they play. Men, especially men supervisors, must gain some insight into their own attitudes and values, lest they are caused to lose the potential that women can bring to the workforce.

Women's desire to work

Eyde feels that it is no longer necessary for women to make a choice that is mutually exclusive between paid employment and homemaking.¹⁴ This still leaves one to reflect on just what kind of adjustment must be made by other members of her family in their attempts to assist her fulfill what may be two contradictory roles. The role of wife and mother, the traditional housewife role, lacks many of the satisfactions it did in the more stable rural type of community. Despite the fact that this role can provide deep biological and emotional fulfillments, many married women still turn to a "career" in some occupation, partly because they don't see being a wife and mother as a career. Even if this indicates a negative reason for their being in the labor market, the fact of the matter is that they probably have had more preparation for a career than for marriage and motherhood.¹⁵

There are many sources of work motivation for the woman. She may be

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 613.

¹³ Caplow, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹⁴ Lorraine Dittrich Eyde, *Work Values and Background Factors As Predictors of Women's Desire to Work*, Research Monograph Number 108, Bureau of Business Research (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1962), p. 3.

¹⁵ See John R. Seely, R. Alexander Sim, and Elizabeth W. Loosley, *Crestwood Heights* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956), Chapters 6 and 7.

motivated by parental influence, may wish to capitalize on a graduate degree she worked hard to attain, may desire to supplement what she perceives as inadequate income of her husband, may have had persistent career interests since early childhood, it sometimes occurs that a woman will work in an attempt to regain the autonomy lost in the dependence on her husband as she fills the role of homemaker, and of course there is always the possibility that she might have no other means of support. No one outstanding attitude or value will necessarily prevail for women in the labor force. It seems unlikely that their career interests, in our present society, are to be equated with neurotic tendencies. They pursue professions for the same reasons as men, including economic drives and the same mixture of vanity, curiosity, desire for service or prestige, instinct of workmanship, and so on.¹⁶

WOMEN ON THE JOB

Is the woman on the job different from the man on the job? It is difficult to make a broad generalization in answer to this question, for there are many reasons for women being on the job, many kinds of positions they occupy, and differences in job involvement, as in the differences in outlook between the woman who intends to keep working and the woman who sees the job as a temporary thing until she marries. One difference may be indicated in expressions of feeling about a place of work. A woman frequently seems to seek a group to work in where there will be warm acceptance, and her interest in the work itself may be secondary. She may express this by saying that she just loves to come to work because the boss is so nice and the girls so friendly. A man on the other hand is more likely to express his job satisfactions in terms of the work itself, though he may suggest that his place of employment constitutes a good place to work.

Differential treatment

Women do, in many cases, react to the established fact that they are often paid less than men are for doing comparable jobs. At one time women were less well equipped than men to fill many jobs, and thus the pay differential seemed justified. This precedent helped management to maintain the job differential even after women began moving into men's jobs.¹⁷ The women concerned sometimes react quite strongly to the fact that they are not given equal and uniform treatment.

If women are given equal and uniform treatment, how will men react?

¹⁶ Mirra Komarovsky, *Women in the Modern World* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953), p. 45.

¹⁷ Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955), p. 285.

Jucius suggests that the treatment will not be entirely uniform—that there is no sense in being unrealistic in regard to the objections that men will raise regarding such uniformity.¹⁸ There does exist a general feeling among men that they have rights over women for job areas in which they are qualified, and the resolution of differential treatment may have to be gradual unless management wishes to cause rather risky cases of insecurity amongst its male employees. This would not be true in areas in which the takeover by female workers has caused a particular job area to be looked on as “woman’s work.”

Women worth the bother

Men all too often, for valid reasons or not, see women employees as a bother. This has caused Hepner to comment that despite the extra bother women may cause an executive, they do have a definite superiority in certain fields of work and are apt to be superior to men in certain departments of life:

One good woman will have a refining influence in an organization of men. The head of a department that employs 120 men has found that language of his men, their manners, and general behavior are better when he has even one woman of the right type working in the department.^{19, 20}

There is little doubt that women can be employed in a variety of jobs to great advantage. It would seem that such employment should not have to be undertaken in the face of a “women are worth the bother” attitude, however. It brings us to the question of the actual need for practicing a special brand of supervision with women on the job.

Specialized supervision

Does the supervisor of women, especially the male supervisor, have to develop a way of interrelating with his women employees different from that he employs with men? Women themselves have in many instances suggested that supervising women requires being blessed with the soul of an angel, the patience of Job, the wisdom of Solomon and other like qualities, as Gracey suggests in writing for the woman who aspires to be a boss. She explains that (1) the angel’s soul is to keep you from committing mayhem when, as an example, the dilatory attitude of a subordinate throws the whole office into a dilemma, (2) the patience of Job is for help-

¹⁸ Jucius, *op. cit.*, p. 615.

¹⁹ Harry Walker Hepner, *Psychology Applied to Life and Work* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), p. 651.

²⁰ Being a good woman is an interesting restriction. It brings to mind the actual case study of the introduction of a woman into a production unit staffed entirely by men. The result was chaotic, resulting from the fact that the woman, though good, had feminine charms that even old work clothes could not conceal.

ing to keep your sanity intact when there exists the stoical subordinate who is incapable of getting an idea into or out of her head, and (3) that the wisdom of Solomon is to assist in dealing with the women under supervision who are eternally late to work, overtalkative, chronically ill, etc.²¹

Suojanen, in writing of the reentry of more older women to the labor market, suggests that this poses new problems for the clerical supervisor. He indicates that their maturity and experience tend to make their younger male supervisor's shortcomings, quite obvious to them. Thus he feels that the career oriented, younger male supervisor must recognize the problem he is dealing with.²² There is a difference between recognizing possible supervisory problems as manifested in different behavioral patterns in the supervised, and attempting to behave differently with each person supervised.

Your authors are advocates of personality flexibility in the supervisor, with supervisory programs having flexibility, or perhaps, social awareness as their major goal. It would seem that requiring a supervisor to behave in a totally different way in response to female employee behavior, if we indeed believe that female behavior is significantly different, requires more of the supervisor than can be realistically expected. Should his basic way of behaving be too far out of keeping with the required interpersonal effectiveness, then the organization must attempt to stimulate him to attempt behavioral, and where appropriate, attitudinal change. Effective supervision presumes the ability to understand differences in the people supervised, and for the moment we must also presume that the extremes of male behavior encompass a significant proportion of the continuum of female behavior.

Selection practices

As with selecting men, there is a wealth of information through which an organization can design more accurate devices for selection of women employees. Much of the information that can be used resides in the personnel files of most organizations and needs only to be treated statistically so that significant selection variables can be ascertained for any given situation. For instance, it is generally believed that age, marital status, and number of dependents are significant variables to use in predicting whether or not a potential female applicant will have a high absentee rate. In a study conducted at the Occupational Research Center, Purdue University, Naylor and Vincent used these three variables in an attempt to predict

²¹ Genevieve Gracey, "So, You'd Like to be a Woman Boss?" *Personnel Journal*, 42:119-20, 127, March 1963.

²² Waino W. Suojanen, "Supervising Older Clerical Workers," *Personnel*, 34:16-21, May-June 1958.

an absentee criterion. Their findings suggest no relationship to the criterion for age and marital status, but did suggest that number of dependents was significantly and positively related to absenteeism.²³

Personnel management is not free of some of the stereotypes, regarding the female workers, which often run rampant in organization. They can, through information at hand, and statistical treatments easy to master, arrive at criterion for selection which might easily overcome some of the past unhappy experiences in the hiring of women. But there is a labor shortage, and management forces personnel to accept "any upright body" presenting itself at the employment office. The practice, to say the least, is suspect. In regard to a secretarial shortage, Lewis and Bordoff say that by and large, though the supply of secretarial help is undeniably tight, there actually is no shortage of highly skilled, capable, experienced secretaries. The overall picture is complicated by certain internal personnel practices.²⁴ Ineffective use of secretarial help may be the foremost of these practices.

WOMEN BOSSES

Personnel administration is one of the professions that has provided a comparatively broad range for the talents of women. It seems to be one of the occupational areas in which women job holders feel that job qualifications are considered first by the employing organization, and sex second. However in the survey in which Merkel reports these impressions, she also reports that 59 per cent of the survey participants did not think the prospects were favorable for their promotion.²⁵ This is not generally the picture for women though, for most well-organized occupations have usually been able to prevent the entry of women. The occupations which women are able to enter freely are those which are of lower prestige.

There is a general belief that women make poor supervisors, that they are too emotional, that they cannot command loyalty of subordinates nor cooperation of their equals. Furthermore most men dislike the idea of working under a woman, but even if the individual man accepts the idea, his friends are sure to tease him about it.²⁶ Most women even report that they prefer to work for a man. The picture of the woman as a boss looks bleak—women are still members of a minority group in organization.

²³ James C. Naylor and Norman L. Vincent, "Predicting Female Absenteeism," *Personnel Psychology*, 12:81-84, Spring 1959.

²⁴ Adele Lewis and Edith S. Bordoff, "What Secretarial Shortage?," *Personnel*, 39:55-59, September-October 1962.

²⁵ Muriel E. Merkel, "Profile of the Professional Personnel Woman," *Personnel Journal*, 42:121-24, March 1963.

²⁶ Gardner and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

The 1955 edition of *Women of Pakistan*, comments that the women of Pakistan had, in the few short years since independence, achieved a measure of self-confidence and consequently of maturity, but that more progress is needed:

. . . much work remains to be done, particularly in rural and industrial areas, she is well aware; and she does not underestimate it. Nevertheless as an individual she is not daunted by the task ahead of her. She continues the struggle, in every sphere of work that she undertakes, sometimes hurt and misunderstood, sometimes discouraged and tempted to lapse, but, on the whole, tenacious.²⁷

This statement written of the women in a developing nation might well have been written of the women in this nation—especially the words which indicate a struggle in every sphere of work that woman undertakes. In the past, women in the western world occupied a position in society largely characterized by inferiority and degradation in comparison with men.²⁸ Such a position has not been completely changed, at least as discussions about women in occupations are concerned. Prejudice dies slowly.

The Census Bureau classed 1,021,000 employed women in the “managers, officials, and proprietors” group as of 1960. With the number so classified growing rapidly, one might think that they are less subject to prejudice, but prejudice still persists. Even when completely accepted within their own organizations, they still may have problems with outsiders and may feel quite uncomfortable at places such as business conventions, when the conventions turn to the sorts of activity which are thought of as being typical for large gatherings of men away from home.

Our brief examination of the topic indicates that there is little factual evidence that women cannot perform adequately in the labor force at all levels of hierarchy. It indicates on the other hand that certain cultural forces mitigate against their so doing. These forces include the prejudices of men and general disapproval of married women working. Despite the prevalence of these feelings, the trend is toward greater employment of married women (and women, in general, working in a greater variety of occupations). This greater employment of women may, when the demographic data is tabulated, give some indication of the significance to the family, of women working. For the moment, the supervisor must accept the fact that he may well have an increasing number of women in his work group.

What should he do? A categorical answer would be for him to change his attitude. Perhaps men are far more threatened by the presence of

²⁷ Pakistan Publications, *Women of Pakistan* (Karachi: Ferozsons, 1955), p. 88.

²⁸ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

women in the work force than they realistically need be. Riesman suggests in this regard:

I am inclined . . . to think that there is an increasing submissiveness of women to what men want of them, and to the world as men have largely made it. I interpret this, in part, as testimony to the fact that men today are far too anxious, too lacking in psychological defenses against each other, to tolerate critically-minded women. The women they want must be intelligent enough to flatter their vanity but not to challenge their prerogatives as men.²⁹

²⁹ David Riesman, *Individualism Reconsidered* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1954), p. 115. It is to be noted that the source cited is a collection of Riesman's essays and that the quotation is from one entitled, "The Saving Remnant."

The supervision of scientists

New problems of management have been created by the growth by geometrical proportions of the employment of scientists and research engineers in production organizations both industrial and governmental. The principal problem is created by virtue of the fact that these people bring to production organizations a set of professional values which are, in many respects, in conflict with traditional organizational and management concepts. Perhaps it would be illuminating to attempt to describe what are the traditional, bureaucratic organization and management values. In the first place, large-scale production organizations are based upon the hierarchical type of organization with tasks united into positions which are in turn grouped upon the basis of work flow and vertical stratification of authority. Individuals are assigned to these positions on the basis of specialization of tasks and are presumed to take orders from the next higher-up until the man at the apex coordinates the entire organization. Second, the organization is permeated by the value of efficiency and productivity. Both individuals and subunits are measured and judged upon the basis of their contributions to the product of the organization, whether it be a physical product or a service. This measurement is based upon both quantity and quality of physical product (or service) and some sort of fiscal accountability.

Chapter 24

This brings us to the next characteristic, which is that production organizations are finance centered. This is true even of governmental organizations which must confine their activities to budgetary allowances. Individuals in the organization are judged on the basis of ability, and this ability is very often related to these other factors of efficiency and productivity. Moreover, in the past production organizations have regarded their own interests and goals as paramount to those individuals, and individuals have been expected to conform to the needs and goals of the organization.

THE VALUE SYSTEM OF THE CREATIVE SCIENTIST

Truly creative scientists are said to be highly individualistic and therefore have personality traits which are, in many respects, in conflict with the bureaucratic value system, as outlined above. They tend to be individualistic, highly egocentric, and resistant to group standards and control. However, they like to deal with complexity and ambiguity; they are challenged by the need to bring order out of it. While they have strong egos which may be perplexing to bureaucratic supervision, it is this very quality which enables them to think independently and to "be at home" with themselves. It is said that their interpersonal relations are of low intensity and that they are ungregarious and not talkative, rather asocial. They show much stronger like for dealing with things and ideas than with people. It goes without saying that the above generalizations are very broad strokes of the brush, but they do contain essential descriptive truths.¹

Conflict with the bureaucratic world

Probably the simplest way to put it is that the scientist does not "feel at home" in the world of politics and power, and while those words have not been used in the past to describe management organizations, they nevertheless are characterized by the interplay of personal politics and power to an extent which the writers in this area have not recognized in the past.² While the creative process of science depends far more than is often admitted upon intuition and unexplainable insight, nevertheless the thought processes of the scientist are of the classical mold of rationality. Living in the world of things rather than of people, a scientist is motivated to think in terms of cause and effect as manifested in the physical world.

The point has been made that administration is dominated by the coordinative thought process or the coordinative mind.³ It is said that the scientist finds the integrative mind somewhat inconceivable, perhaps even a little obnoxious. The ability to reach decisions on the basis of partial

¹ For discussions of the characteristics of scientists see Paul Abler and Herman A. Estrin, eds., *The New Scientist* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1962), particularly Anne Roe's "The Psychology of the Scientist," pp. 82, 90. Also illuminating is C. P. Snow's *The Two Cultures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

² Melville Dalton, *Men Who Manage* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959); Dorwin Cartwright, ed., *Studies in Social Power* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1959).

³ David G. Moore and Richard Renck, "The Professional Employee in Industry," in Robert T. Livingston and Stanley H. Milberg, eds., *Human Relations in Industrial Research Management* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 138-50.

information and what might appear to be flimsy evidence, is not held in high esteem by the professional, in fact, in professional circles this borders on charlatanism. The reader is referred to the discussions of administrative rationality and how it conflicts with the classical rationality of the scientist and engineer. The sophisticated reader will be familiar with Simon's concept of the administrator as a "satisficer," and Lindblom's declaration that "the administrator is one who muddles through." In both these cases it is assumed that administrative decisions must be made upon the best available evidence at the time, which may not be the sum total of the data. While the administrative process has, in recent years, developed staff services for developing information not hitherto available, the fact remains that administrative decisions are often made upon the basis of incomplete data and necessarily so. The administrator is, to a large extent, an "intuitor."⁴ The administrator is a generalist while the scientist is a specialist. As a generalist, the administrator is constantly trying to cut through complexity and bring simplicity and order out of it. By the very nature of his task he must strive for measurable results. Thus he tries to impose upon the scientific organization the "bag of tricks" which constitutes his trade and which have proved successful in production organizations in the past. Now he is dealing with a new—at least new to him—variety of man, one who in many respects questions the very premises which have formed the fundamental basis of production organizations in the past.

But the scientist needs the production organization, and the production organization needs the scientist, hence there must be some set of working arrangements which will enable the two to get along together. Research and development have become bywords in many organizations and some very large organizations are entirely dependent upon new ideas emanating from their research and development laboratories. The tremendous literature upon this subject, emerging in the last decade or so, is in some measure indicative of its importance. Yet it is an area in which one can find comparatively few positive pieces of advice on how to supervise. Nevertheless, there has been enough experience to enable one to pose issues and to discuss the various aspects of these issues, and perhaps this in itself will be a help.

The prestige of theory

American pragmatism has placed negative value upon theory, and it has been an epithet of negative connotation to brand anything as theoretic-

⁴ Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. xxv; Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," *Public Administration Review*, 19:79-88, Spring 1959; and John M. Pfiffner, "Administrative Rationality," *Public Administration Review*, 20:125-32, Summer 1960.

cal. This was probably more true a half century ago when the mucker pose was dominant in American culture, but today intellectual sophistication has penetrated our way of life to a much greater extent, and promises to continue in that direction at an accelerated rate. Nevertheless, the practical man of affairs, as the American businessman still likes to characterize himself, still looks askance at theory. This is important to our discussion by virtue of the fact that theory enjoys a plus rating in scientific circles. In university groups the person with highest prestige is the one who has contributed the most to the underlying theory of his particular discipline, and this is just as true of the social sciences as it is of the natural sciences. Names which survive the ephemera of their own generation are usually those who have contributed to theoretical thought while, on the other hand, the purely applied person and the consultant are lower on the scale of values in professional circles. Some measure of this is supplied by the fact that if one desires to label the work of another in the applied field with opprobrium he may use the word "gadgetry." Thus the distinction between applied and pure science places the latter much higher upon the value ladder of professional people. While the great body of scientists and engineers is working in applied areas which promise rather immediate return, the number of scientists working in pure research is increasing, and the very largest outfits like Bell Telephone and Dupont have special laboratories devoted entirely to pure science. It is worthy of note, moreover, that the military has entered the field of pure research even in the area of the application of social science to planned strategy, as evidenced by the studies of the Rand Corporation.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

There seems to be considerable dissatisfaction on the part of scientists with the trappings and implications of hierarchy, yet the fact must be faced that research and development (R & D) has entered the realm of large-scale organization. Hierarchy would seem to be the universal manifestation of large-scale organization; one cannot exist without the other. Hence the essence of the problem is to develop a form of bureaucracy—which is the equivalent of hierarchy—that will be congenial to the spirit of science and satisfying to scientists themselves.

Freedom and authority

Central to all problems of human existence is the philosophical conflict between freedom and authority. Hierarchy is associated in historical practice, as well as the semantical implication of the term, with rigid and often harsh and arbitrary control from above. It smacks of caprice and tyranny. Yet science is based upon the need for freedom of inquiry. A research laboratory must be composed of people who seem inherently resistant to

control from above, yet their work must be coordinated and directed toward goals. In industrial organizations these goals must be heavily saturated with economic values; in spite of himself, and perhaps unconsciously, the scientist both becomes a part of and is directed by the contemporary model of economic man. He becomes confronted with the need to conform, yet conformity to the demands of hierarchy runs counter to his inmost feelings.

What is the answer? One is not sure that there is an answer; perhaps for some decades there will exist a galaxie of *modus vivendi* of the moment based on the experiences of individual plants. It must be remembered that the large-scale research laboratory is barely a quarter of a century old, and this is but a moment in the history of human institutions. The literature does not yield much in the way of concrete guides other than the inference that the solution is the humanizing of hierarchy. A recent author has suggested "collegiality" or "colleagueship."⁶

Vocational colleagueship

The entity termed colleagueship is not new because it constitutes one of the strongest stratifying forces in bureaucracy. It would be more accurate to refer to vocational colleagueship which is composed of the sentimental ties and unity of interest attaching to those who engage in a specialized vocation. It is not unique to the learned professions because one notices it among skilled artisans whose organizations for centuries have had a fraternal base, going back to the mediaeval guilds. Even today some unions refer to their local chapters as lodges or chapels. Vocational colleagueship may be inspired by defensiveness and a felt need for mutual protection, as with the police who feel that certain sections of society disapprove of them.

Among scientists the binding force of colleagueship is professionalism. The term "professional" has been bandied about and appropriated by many vocational groups who have but slight intrinsic claim to the dignified status appertaining thereto. The term profession is properly applied only to those vocations based upon a high degree of intellectual content. Kornhauser isolates the criteria of professionalism as follows: ". . . (a) specialized competence that has a considerable intellectual content; (b) extensive autonomy in exercising the special competence; (c) strong commitment to a career based on the special competence; and (d) influence and responsibility in the use of the special competence."⁷ To this should

⁶ One of the earliest studies reveals the typical laboratory organized on the traditional hierarchical model. Robert N. Anthony, *Management Controls in Industrial Research Organizations* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1952), pp. 29-42.

⁷ William Kornhauser, *Scientists in Industry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 11.

be added a commitment to research as a way of life, the free spirit of inquiry, and the flexibility of mind which is willing not only to discover, but to accept, new truths. The professionalism of the twentieth century sees knowledge as constantly in a state of change, forever being revolutioned, and composed of relative rather than absolute data and concepts. The physics of fifty years ago is said to be largely out-of-date today.

The scientist is motivated by a different set of loyalties than those which organizations have traditionally demanded. His values relative to personal attainment relate more closely to his profession than to his employing organization. He can more often be categorized as a "cosmopolitan" rather than a "local" under Gouldner's dichotomy.⁸ He places more value on his prestige among other members of his profession than the esteem of his hierarchical supervisors who may not understand him.

Collegueship influences organization mainly by compelling a search for devices and arrangements which will adapt hierarchy to its needs. These devices will have the single objective of ameliorating the heavy hand of hierarchy. An institution often mentioned as a prototype is the university.

The university as prototype

There is in university circles a quite prevalent cliché that the university is a community of scholars, one implication of which is that it is free from the harsher elements of hierarchy. This is based largely on the European tradition according to which the faculties are autonomous and elect their own officers.⁹ The rector, who is the chief administrative officer of a continental university, is elected by his faculty colleagues and serves a limited term. The situation is different in American universities because there even the most venerated and mature are governed by outside boards composed dominantly of laymen who designate the president who serves at their pleasure. He is in turn at the apex of a hierarchical pyramid with authority running downward. Indeed, a case could be made that the American university has been governed in a most authoritarian manner. In order to sense this intimately one need only to thumb through a few issues of the *AAUP Bulletin* to note (1) the cases of censured institutions and (2) articles pleading for greater faculty control of policy. Sitting at the community table in the faculty club, one should not be surprised to hear references to "the administration" as the enemy of educational purpose.

Nevertheless, the university does offer the scholar an atmosphere more satisfying to him than industrial or governmental employment. He is willing to sacrifice monetary income for the advantages of faculty status,

⁸ Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2:281-306, December 1957.

⁹ For a glimpse of the internal politics in an autonomous faculty of a British university see C. P. Snow, *The Affair*.

which is attested by the fact that the preponderance of distinguished scientists are to be found in university posts. While the organization of the American university is still hierarchical the weight of hierarchy is modified and ameliorated by an academic bill of rights, or a set of academic constitutional liberties.

The first of these is tenure, which assures the senior faculty members a life job. This is perhaps a greater incentive to remain in university life than is publicly admitted. While the scientist employed by industry is highly mobile in the sense that he can usually obtain work elsewhere, he must have in the back of his mind the prospect that the future of war and space industry is subject to the vicissitudes of disarmament and the caprice of congressional budgetary considerations. The second consideration is the opportunity to live in a congenial intellectual environment. In the political controversy relative to the geographical allocation of defense and space contracts, it was pointed out that the bulk of the work was centered in a few localities having prestige universities: the Boston area, New York, the San Francisco Bay area, southern California, and Chicago. Real estate developers are now attempting to get universities located near their projects and even are giving valuable land for the purpose.

Perhaps the major consideration for the intellectual is freedom from thought control and freedom to select his own avenues of inquiry. While a reading of *AAUP* cases might lead one to believe that academic freedom is largely lacking, the fact remains that unorthodox views are tolerated to a greater degree in university circles than most other walks of life. Coupled with this is a greater acceptance of so-called "cultural" values as opposed to the values of the commercial world.

A discussion of the advantages of university life would not be complete without mention of its distinctive perquisites such as the long vacations and sabbatical leave on pay. Moreover, the multiplication of research money from both government and foundation sources has augmented faculty income considerably. Some faculty members have been so successful as administrators of research grants that they have been dubbed somewhat facetiously as "entrepreneurial professors."

The point was made above that the university has ameliorated hierarchy rather than abolishing it. To be sure, administrative distance may be somewhat less in academic institutions by virtue of fewer horizontal levels and the general prevalence of the committee system. But the very growth and prosperity of universities have necessitated the expansion of the vice-president level and of such staff services as personnel, finance, physical maintenance, and planning. One is inevitably led to the conclusion that the attraction of the university for scholars as against other employment is not in the absence of formal hierarchy but rather in the spirit of flexibility and freedom in which hierarchy impinges on the academic journeyman—the professor. That would seem to be the essence of organization by collegueship, or collegiality.

Task groupings versus functional groupings

The literature on the administration of research usually treats of the comparative merits of organization by task and organization by function. In the former the several varieties of specialists work side by side, pooling their resources to accomplish a specific goal. Task groups are often temporary and disbanded when the goal has been accomplished. Organization by function occurs when all of the specialists in a particular category are placed together in their own unit. It is said that scientists usually prefer the latter because it identifies them on a permanent basis with a subunit which they can identify as their own. Nevertheless, the task groupings are thought to have the advantages appertaining to fixed goals, especially in a young organization. As organizations stratify, the loyalties to specialty and attachments to colleagues work toward functional groupings. "The general principle is that *specialist groupings are more consistent with professional orientations while task groups are more consistent with orientations toward the organization.*"¹⁰

DILEMMAS OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Personnel administration in research organizations raises certain problems because the criteria on which people should be evaluated are often different from those prevailing generally in management circles. Research institutions need to tolerate idiosyncrasy in the evaluation of people, yet there is some doubt as to whether they do so. A study of petroleum research scientists compared supervisory ratings to self-perception as to creativity, and to patent disclosures. There was a high correlation between supervisory rating and self-perception as to creativity but low or negative correlation on such factors as utilitarian drive, inquisitive professional orientation, and general adjustment. There was either low or negative correlation between the productivity criterion of "patent disclosures" and the two sets of ratings.

The implication seems to be that scientists are rated on the basis of those external personality characteristics which are generally regarded as positive and desirable but that these are not the characteristics which make them good scientists. "It thus seems probable that, when a quasi-subjective method is employed, the truly creative person will receive a less favorable relative evaluation than he merits. Hence, these . . . contrasting characteristics also seem to argue for differential treatment or handling of technical personnel."¹¹ They should be evaluated on factors

¹⁰ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹¹ Robert F. Morrison, William A. Owens, and others, "Factored Life History Antecedents of Industrial Research Performance," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 46:281-84, August 1962.

different from those whose goals are competitive selection for hierarchical preference.

Morale

Kornhauser reports that sales, supervisory, and office people in industry have more job satisfaction than engineers and scientists employed in the same units. But the latter who are administrators are somewhat less dissatisfied.¹² Moore and Renck report similar conclusions resulting from a series of studies conducted by the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago.¹³ Apparently the nonprofessional white collar people are more inclined to accept the value system of the management milieu. Or can it be attributed to the proposition that the scientist is a congenital griper with a little of the prima donna complex, along with artists and intellectuals in general. After all, the basic method of science is to question everything and accept nothing as the absolute truth. This runs quite contrary to the traditional exercise of authority in management institutions, where all wisdom flows down the hierarchy from above and talking back is taboo.

It seems agreed that the successful scientist cannot be squeezed into or extracted from a standard mold of personality characteristics. "They are seldom fashionably or fastidiously dressed. Some seem outwardly aggressive, some very retiring. Some have scrupulously satisfactory domestic affairs. Others are in a state of constantly juggling wife and family together with an assortment of extramarital affairs. Some are homosexuals and narcotic addicts. The one function they seem to have in common that separates them from others is that they are uniquely able to provide unique answers."¹⁴ This means that toleration of the oddball must prevail in research institutions to a greater extent than has been the case in traditional organizations.

Recognition and promotion

Personnel management in the laboratory must seek for methods of recognition and promotion different from those traditionally prevalent. "Creativity" would seem to be the catchall under which to classify the qualities most desired. Yet it would seem that creativity does not regularly appear in a Brooks Brothers suit or a Madison Avenue haircut, nor does it possess

¹² Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

¹³ David G. Moore and Richard Renck, "The Professional Employee in Industry," originally published in *Journal of Business*, 38:58-66, January 1955, reprinted in Livingston and Milberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-62.

¹⁴ Melvin W. Thorner, "Creativity and the Environment of Industrial Research," in Robert T. Livingston and Stanley H. Milberg, eds., *Human Relations in Industrial Management* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 304-05.

the jutting chin and direct, confronting eyes that seem to impress those who have hierarchical preferment at their disposal.

There is the further consideration, perennially bewailed in discussions of this topic, that advancement can usually come only through the assumption of supervisory or administrative duties. In university circles one sometimes hears the complaint that a promising person has been lost to scholarship by becoming an administrator. Sometimes the individual indulges in the tribal ritual of bemoaning his sacrifice, but in fact most of them not only want to become administrators but actively promote their interests in that direction. Prestige, status, and power are mighty incentives which to many persons transcend professional motivation. It may be that among research scientists there is a larger proportion of persons who shun an administrative career and prefer the satisfactions of the journeyman scientist's role. However, the reported studies, as with studies in psychology and sociology in general, have not given sufficient consideration to the factor of personal power as a motivator of men.¹⁵

There has been some experimentation with hierarchical devices for recognizing purely professional attainment without making the person a recognized administrator. One of these is to create separate career ladders for professionals and administrators under arrangements which give scientists and engineers advances in salary and status without assuming administrative duties.¹⁶ The Federal Civil Service Commission, struggling with this problem in the classification of medical doctors and research scientists, has found it desirable to make some modifications in traditional job classification theory. Hitherto orthodoxy has taken the stand that one classified the position and duties and not the occupant. Some dissidents in the Commission staff have advanced the concept of the "Impact of the Man on the Job" which permits recognition of personal variations in people. One difficulty with approaches of this kind is that soft-hearted management will take the easy way out by allowing veteran mediocrity to attain prestige status.

THE NATURE OF THE SUPERVISORY FUNCTION

Morale surveys revealing a low degree of job satisfactions among scientists working for industry have pointed toward supervision as the greatest source thereof. The "manager must learn that the charismatic leadership which works in research is something different from the graduated delegation of boss-employee relationships elsewhere, something which he may not understand, but which he must nonetheless find in others and rely on."¹⁷

¹⁵ Consult Dorwin Cartwright, ed., *Studies in Social Power* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, 1959).

¹⁶ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹⁷ Conrad M. Arensberg, "Research Relationships and Cultural Differences," in Livingston and Milberg, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

Creating atmosphere of freedom

The supervisor must endeavor to provide an atmosphere of freedom which will allow the creative spirit to flower, yet he must do this amid inevitable forces which are threatening. Most research organizations are governed in the long run by budgetary considerations and therefore feel to varying degrees the pressures of the market, the need to produce. The information needed for management control is expressed in terms of production units and unit costs, yet researchers resist this type of control, saying with much feeling that research efforts are not amenable to factory production controls. The matter of controls and measurement of productivity will be discussed below; suffice it to say here that the problem of evaluating the effectiveness of people must be faced even in a research organization. Not even unskilled production workers like to have their work evaluated.

Supervision must adopt more of a permissive approach than one characterized by close oversight and drive. Interaction must be more consultative than directive. The supervisor must learn to practice that mature behavior which absorbs heat from outside, especially from above. One must expect a certain amount of paranoid outburst from management people because their predilection toward such behavior seems to be in some way related to managerial effectiveness. Hence, the research director must be adept in the art of double talk. At any rate he should steady himself to expect a certain amount of pressure from above, sometimes emotionally expressed, and to absorb such pressure without himself evincing panic.

He needs to devise ways of minimizing the irritations of management controls without abdicating all controls. Characteristic of those types of control which irritate research workers are accounting for time worked, making out reports on activities, requisitioning supplies, filling out forms which report progress, the scheduling of deadlines, and the general run of paper work relative to personnel actions.

General versus professional supervision

All organizations in which the basic production processes and work content are dominantly professional pose a special problem. Examples are hospital administration and the running of military research laboratories. Medical doctors are usually not interested in administration, with the result that hospitals must rely on lay administrators for coordination of their inescapable business activities. Military research laboratories are relatively new, dating on their present scale from the late 1940's. In the beginning there was considerable tension between civilian scientists and the command hierarchy imposed upon them. The following story may be apocryphal but it could have happened. A nonscientist naval commander

of a research laboratory is alleged to have demanded that laboratory tables be made "shipshape" by being cleared of apparatus each night. One is led to believe that this sort of tension has been considerably mitigated both by (1) the amelioration of military discipline and protocol and (2) the increasing scientific sophistication of military personnel.

In hospital administration the dual hierarchy tends to emerge with the lay administrator working in comparative harmony with the medical director. It would seem that comparatively fewer medical doctors than engineers care to become administrators. The lay administrator has become an accepted part of the hospital environment, and, while all tensions may not have been dissipated, a fairly stable *modus vivendi* seems to have evolved.

First line supervision

First line supervision in a research organization must of course be more professional. Here the organization pressures are less felt and the personal interactions warmer. A consultative, participatory type of supervision is called for. A study of research personnel by Baumgartel compared three types of supervision against criteria of research performance, positive attitudes, and job satisfaction. The three types of supervision were participatory, directive, and laissez faire; and the results showed a linear relationship from high to low as follows: (1) participatory, (2) laissez faire, and (3) directive.¹⁸

Professional prestige

A study by Blau indicated that professional people will seek supervision from those for whom they have professional respect, irrespective of the line of command. In this particular case they disobeyed a regulation which required consultation through channels, although it was known by the supervisors that these contacts were taking place. Blau suggests that a new pattern of interaction had been legitimized by practice. The lesson for supervision would seem to be to recognize that the folkways of a professional organization will provide for functional supervision by those who are thought by their peers to be able to give the best professional advice. They will seek such advice even in the face of regulations to the contrary. Hence the formal organization should be structured in such a manner as to facilitate such consultation instead of trying to inhibit it.¹⁹

COMMUNICATION

It seems an elementary truism that people working on the same or similar problems should be constantly apprised of what the other fellow is

¹⁸ Howard Baumgartel, "Leadership Style as a Variable in Research Administration," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2:344-60, December 1957.

¹⁹ Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 99ff.

doing. Perhaps more important is the need to know what is expected of them. There needs to be dissemination of policy information. "Members of a team should know where they are going and how they can get there."²⁰ Lack of such information is said to be the cause of considerable dissatisfaction in some of the larger research laboratories. Research personnel often feels that it is not "in the know" about policy and goals, and it sometimes has the impression that management itself is not too clear about where it desires to go or how to go about getting there.

On the other hand, it is equally important to avoid the errors of overcommunication. Elaborate reporting systems can lead to highly detailed reports issued so frequently that people cannot keep up with them. This may be compounded with an ever-increasing number of group meetings in the hopes that they will bring understanding and coordination out of the mass of writings that has not been digested. All of this causes people to lose time from bench or desk that could better be devoted to objectives of inquiry.²¹

Secrecy

Military and industrial organizations must maintain secrecy, the military from the standpoint of national security and the other because of competitive advantage. War industry is of course subject to both of these restraints. This is a major source of tension among scientists because it inhibits intraprofessional communication, especially publication and disclosures through papers read at professional meetings. This is said to be a major reason why the more theoretically-minded scientists favor the university environment.²²

THE PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY

Industrial organizations are economic institutions which in our economy must reckon with the market, which is a roundabout way of saying that they must show a profit. Even governmental institutions must feel the pressures of the market in the sense that they must be prepared to make a showing of usefulness, compared to cost, to the President and Congress.

Productivity

The essence of orthodox scientific management was the measurement of productivity for the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of both the organization and people. The management ethic is highly impregnated with this value system, and properly so because management is judged by

²⁰ David B. Hertz and Albert H. Rubenstein, "The Role of Communications in Research," in Livingston and Milberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-207.

the effectiveness of the organization which in the long run means productivity. This is amply demonstrated by an incident which occurred at the beginning of World War II when the government needed a good fighter plane. A certain manufacturer had developed an effective fighter plane which the government wanted, but the manufacturer was not prepared to produce it in quantity. During the developmental stage scientists and engineers worked in the shop alongside production workers, and while they produced a viable model practically by hand, the condition of the shop was chaos as far as quantity production was concerned. The old-line concepts of scientific management had to take over and organize the shop for quantity production, which was done, with the result that this particular plane achieved a legendary reputation, its distinctive profile and serial number being familiar to most Americans of that generation.

It has been implicit in all of what has been written above that there is an underlying conflict between the management ethic and the value system of science. The point is made that scientific productivity cannot be measured, at least not in the same manner as manual and machine productivity. Nevertheless, organizations often feel it desirable to impose some type of productivity control on laboratories. The difficulty of measuring productivity is demonstrated by the problem which social scientists encounter in their search for a productivity criterion in designing their experiments. The experiment cited above in which the origination of patents was used as a production criterion is a rather rare example.²³

Scientists are said to resent being put under pressure to "come up with something."²⁴ They maintain that research results cannot be measured by the same criteria as are applicable to manufacturing. The result is that business firms tend to avoid precise measurements for evaluating research, but more emphasis is placed upon visible production in applied and developmental activities than in basic research. Inevitably the question has to be faced as to whether individuals and projects are fruitful, but a wide degree of tolerance is practiced in laboratories devoted to basic research. Some large organizations foster explorations into realms seemingly remote from current organizational products and activities.

Accounting for time

Some organizations require employees to account for their time, either by free style diary or by checking a form containing space for time slots and a list of typical activities. It is said that scientists resent being required to do this both because it invades their spheres of privacy and freedom and because it takes time that could better be spent on research. There is also resentment among scientists at any attempt to require them

²³ Morrison, Owens, and others, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-36.

to keep scheduled hours. They insist that inspiration and creativity respect no office hours and that their most original ideas may occur during a fit of insomnia in the wee hours of the morning. Moreover, productive time of day varies with people, some having their highest energy at midnight. Hence, they would like to be privileged to work at these odd hours.

Accounting for material

Some laboratories have inaugurated strict controls over the requisition of equipment and materials. Not only scientists, but production workers, would like to go into the stockroom and pick up what they need without the necessity to go through the familiar red tape of the requisition process. The principal tension point usually occurs in relations between the researchers and the purchasing department. Here again the researchers would like to have direct relations with the suppliers and negotiate the purchases themselves, but the standardized purchasing process prevails in most laboratories.²⁵ While these controls are often irritating to technical personnel, there seems to be general agreement that they should exist, but with appropriate flexibility, and with due regard to the niceties of personal interaction. In other words, the control personnel should try to understand and make allowances for the idiosyncrasies of scientists without relaxing essential supervision.

There is the further problem of accounting for the expenditure of material. Some laboratories require that all material requisitioned from the stockroom be charged to a project number. There are those who question the need for such minute accounting because in addition to the irritability occasioned it absorbs the time and personnel in what they consider to be irrelevant minutiae.²⁶

²⁵ Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 208ff.

²⁶ Norman A. Shephard, "Promoting Cooperation in Research," in Livingston and Milberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.

Future trends

“Computers may someday hold conventions of their own, delivering learned papers on people and running up expense accounts.”¹ The learned papers may have to do with how great a proportion of the routine of organization computers handle, may tell of how they are programmed by the simple expedient of having an executive speak into a small black box on his desk, or may inform each other of the intriguing post Mendelian laws of inheritance they now employ in helping to select employees for organization. The impending change may be looked upon with an attitude that the human organism will be left but little to do, or can be looked upon as part of an evolutionary process and so dealt with. Wright² states that he deplores the tendency of some to avoid the question of how to accept continued change as inevitable, just, and desirable. He sees the question of how to change as the basic problem of modern management and suggests that the real task of human relations is to foster a healthy attitude toward both change and authority.

Chapter 25

There is much now being written about a second industrial revolution. This revolution is reported to be taking place in the form of accelerated automation of human mental tasks.³ It is centered, it seems, in cybernetics which is “the study of messages and communications in humans, social groups, machines, etc., especially in reference to regulation and control mechanisms such as feedback.”⁴ Cybernetics will be a term heard with increasing frequency in the future whether or not administrators and

¹ *Time*, September 6, 1963, p. 78.

² David McCord Wright, “The Administrative Fallacy,” *Harvard Business Review*, 38:113-14, July-August 1960.

³ See Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954), Chapter 9.

⁴ Leland E. Hinsie and Robert Jean Campbell, *Psychiatric Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1960).

other members of organization see that frequency as usurping human prerogative. Wiener, whose name is particularly associated with the field of cybernetics recognizes the attendant impingement by the machine upon the human culture and suggests that "the possible fields into which the new industrial revolution is likely to penetrate are very extensive."⁵ He feels that the penetration will include all labor performing judgments of a low level, much as the earlier industrial revolution penetrated every aspect of human power.⁶

Effect on organization

The effect may be profound, but there is no reason to believe that it must necessarily be negative. At a number of other points in this volume, it has been recommended that the traditional hierarchical structure impedes much of the kind of infusion of new concepts necessary to healthy organization development. The infusion of cybernetics could force a new form of organization—perhaps one in which the traditional form is completely inverted, resting on a base of machine maintenance men. Or perhaps middle management functions will no longer be needed and the new shape of organization will emulate the hourglass. (Figure 8.)

It is also possible that administrative scientists will devise a dynamic

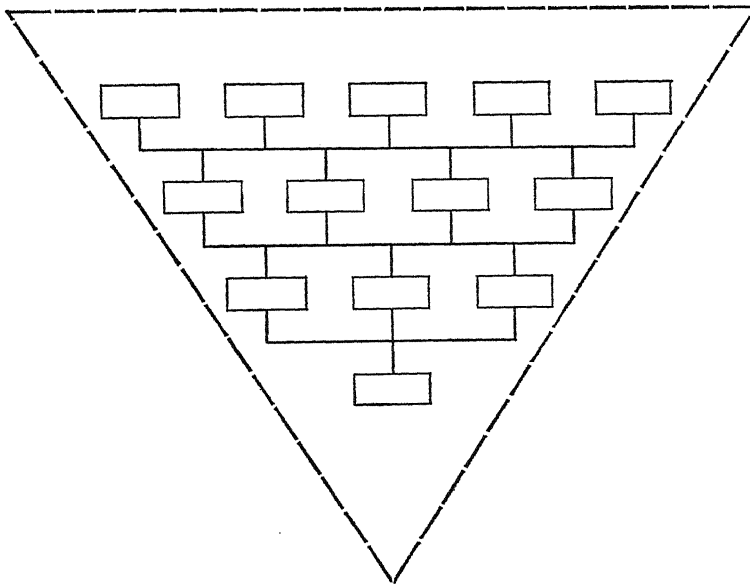


Figure 7.

⁵ Wiener, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁶ *Ibid.*

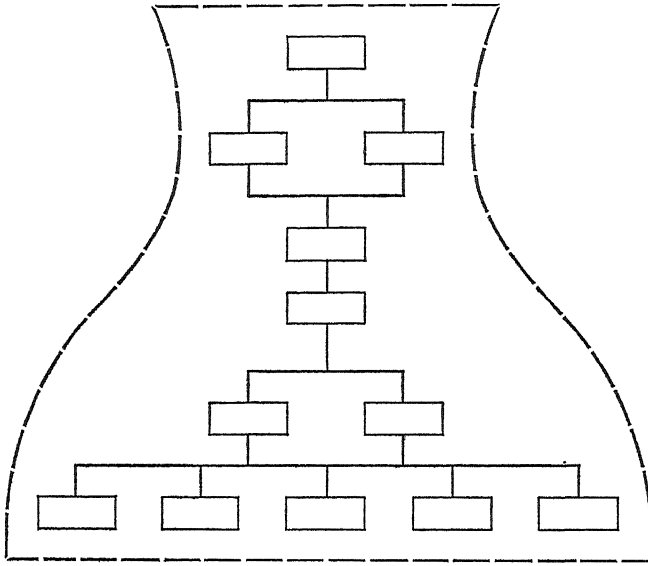


Figure 8.

way to depict the organization which would feature feedback paths and areas of influence. (Figure 9.)

Your authors view the future of the intensified cybernetics world with much hope and some fear. Hope for the potential solving of human problems and fear that the leap forward will not recognize the ever present fear of increased automation, which is largely based in the belief that such an increase will come without recognition of the question of social values. The present national trend to solve all transportation problems with long ribbons of concrete (called freeways, throughways, turnpikes, etc.), which in their stealthful way destroy the ability of many to enjoy home ownership (a high social value), is a case in point.

Education and retraining

The intensification of the cybernetics world has already caused problems by reducing the need for some of the lesser skilled workers. Through his reading of the daily newspaper, in addition to other sources, the reader has become familiar with the many efforts, at all governmental levels, to give skills to the nonskilled.

"But in industrialized countries, as we all know, human muscle has become almost obsolete,"⁷ and the cybernetics world will call for a more persuasive effort than retraining a handful of unskilled persons. As Fischer⁸

⁷ John Fischer, "The Stupidity Problem," *Harper's*, 225:14-24, September 1962.

⁸ *Ibid.*

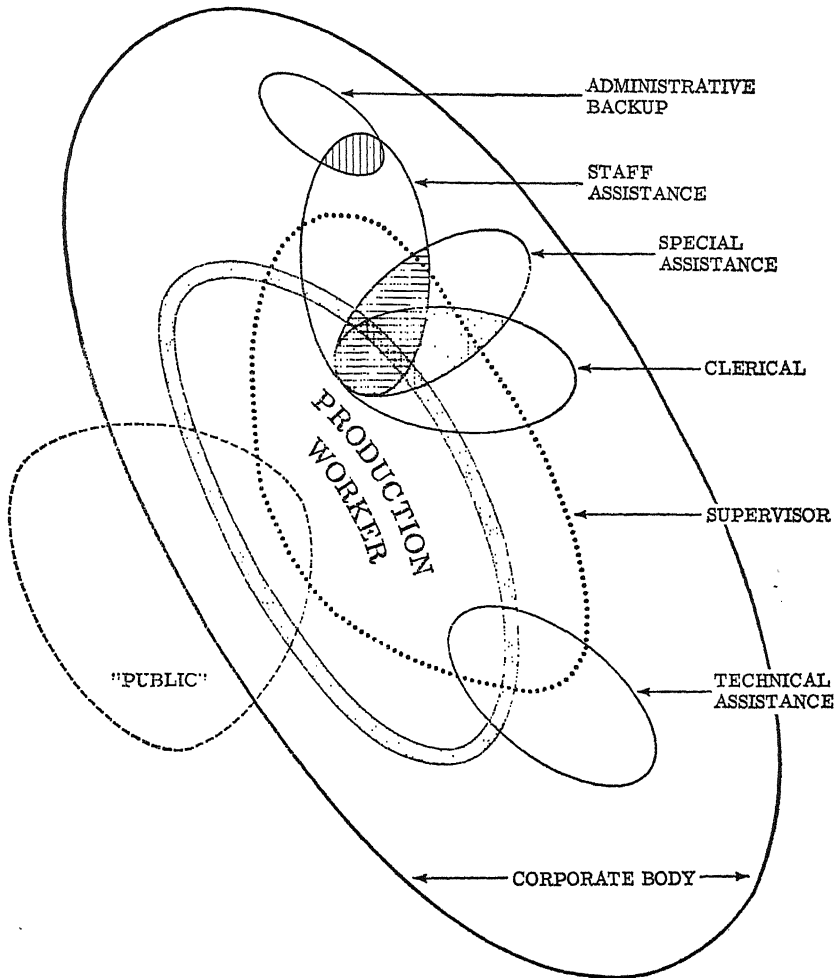


Figure 9.

points out, we have probably built ourselves, unintentionally, a society which calls for a distribution of intelligence quite different from that which God provided. Despite this there still is sufficient reason to believe that our whole educational system will be called upon to make a vital shift. The shift will be toward testing a hypothesis that the person in the normal IQ range cannot, in fact, perform the kinds of tasks we now feel that only the person of superior intelligence can master. Do we lack the synoptic mind in organization, or is it a game of amusing conceit to add to the bits of proof, playing, as one plays anagrams, until the professor from Siwash beats all other professors with the final and most impressive contribution.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

There will be, in the future, much rethinking about the psychology of the individual and the relationship of that psychology to the sociological and anthropological considerations that both shape and are shaped by what the organism basically is. If there is a curve of normal distribution of intelligence, and if this concept stands up under rigorous examination, then the small supply of superior intelligence will have to be jealously guarded. Compulsory academic high school education may have to be forgotten and be replaced by gas station attendant and bellhop schools. "The resulting uproar, as we all know, would shake the walls of the Board of Education,"⁹ but boards of education may themselves have to give way to modernization. When and if this course is taken, and the rise of vocational curricula in high schools and junior colleges indicates it as a distinct possibility, business, industry, and government will increase their direct contribution to education. They will be ever alert to the bellhop school graduate who may mature, and having more use of his basic mental facilities, be motivated to develop as a productive creative member of the complex organization.

Assessment of potential

The future will bring more successful methods of defining qualities needed in employees and the measurement of those qualities. This will probably come to pass not only because of new sophistication in understanding the organism, but because the total society will accept these advances and will bring them within the folkways and mores.

Gone will be the day when an applicant for a management position will pass some test of fire, such as going through the game of giving the properly prejudiced set of answers to a series of successive interviewers. Many test protocols will be treated, in the interim, not by test and measurement people alone, but by anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, organization practitioners, and psychologists, from which examination many new instruments will evolve. One instrument, already on the horizon, which may evolve and find acceptance is one based on the Thematic Apperception Test protocol.¹⁰ This will be a form of projective technique in which reaction to certain stimuli will be observed. The stimuli are presented in the form of a series of pictures, into which the applicant can project feelings about superiors, subordinates, the organizational

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Sidney J. Levy, "Thematic Assessment of Executives," *California Management Review*, 5:3-8, Summer 1963. This article gives a more technical examination of the approach.

social system, and perhaps even the relationship of the organization to the larger culture.

Training those with potential

With better selection methods there will go hand in hand improved training based on the lessons learned through the use of methods of sociodrama and psychotherapy. Sociodrama as a device for teaching and analysis was developed by J. L. Moreno. It has been variously adapted to organizational training¹¹ in recent years, and when its basic approach is coupled with the use of the type of sensitivity training which most emulates the psychotherapeutic approach, it will hold promise of achieving actual attitudinal change. Some present day trainers use this approach through a flexible format which may start with a progressive role play¹² and lead to a free discussion¹³ and thence proceed to a sort of soliloquy delivered by one player with another acting as his alter ego suggesting the phrases the player might use if behaving congruently.

In the tomorrows to come, training will be less rigidly structured in favor of "feeding in" substantive matter and process as the trainer feels the group dynamic will accept the stimulation. There will not be the separation of didactic approach and sensitivity approach now employed. The training goal also will not be separated into the memorization of a combination of a predetermined pattern of information bits on the one hand and change of behavior on the other. A trainer will take a group at the level of sophistication at which he finds them and try to raise that level of sophistication, being careful to in no way suggest that each group member should hold to the same level. Part of the new approach may borrow from the existential movement,¹⁴ and one may overhear the trainer saying, "If the tears could talk, what would they say?"

Group structure

The introduction of sociodrama, sensitivity training, and other socio-psychologically based methods have led many managers to charge the

¹¹ See Michael H. Mescon, "Sociodrama and Sociometry: Tools for a Modern Approach to Leadership," *Journal of the Academy of Management*, 2:21-28, April 1959.

¹² The progressive role play is one in which a number of players are assigned roles and then asked to participate in a number of scenes each of which usually uses a different combination of players.

¹³ See Chapter 16 for a description of free discussion.

¹⁴ For some insight into the directions the existential movement might suggest, see the chapter entitled, "Contributions of Existential Psychotherapy" by Rollo May, in Rollo May, Ernest Angel, and Henri F. Ellenberger, eds., *Existence* (New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1958).

proponents of these methods of advocating anarchy. This particular charge when hurled in future years will fall on deaf ears. There is evidence to indicate that loosely structured groups permit all members to participate thus adding additional skills and abilities to the decision-making process.¹⁵ Use of loosely structured work and training groups will become a trend.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

A high proportion of the pages of this volume have suggested that the training director of the present and the future is and will be integrally bound up in the vital progress of the organization. To the observer of administrative science this may seem puzzling, in and of itself, while to the personnel administrator it may seem downright ridiculous. There is abroad in the land a great schism between the personnel and training man, one causing them to pull in opposite directions—though it is not clear whether the schism is cause or effect. Whatever be the case, the training man is fighting to be identified as not being part of the personnel function, much as the personnel man once fought to be identified as not being part of the accounting function.

Part of the cause lies in stereotypes, formal classification systems, and in vigorous empire building. Another part of the cause lies in the abhorrence of the training man of the detailed procedures of personnel administration and its tight relationship to the pathology of organization. The future, as it brings more interpersonal ability and, in a broader sense, greater human relations skills, must see personnel administration integrated into the organization so that it performs a supportive role. It must become supportive of the supervisor who is, in fact, the most effective agent toward better personnel administration.

Staff line conflict

"The line-and-staff pattern of organizational structure has survived as a viable and useful organization form."¹⁶ There seems to have occurred an accommodation process which helps to keep line-and-staff structure fitted to the needs of a particular business enterprise.¹⁷ That is to say, it would seem, that some sort of unknown homeostatic process has been present to insure organizational equilibrium in much the same way that a fairy god-mother assures happy tomorrows.

Actually the McFarland report¹⁸ further finds that the line-and-staff

¹⁵ See Rocco Carzo, Jr., "Some Effects of Organization Structure on Group Effectiveness," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 7:393-424, March 1963.

¹⁶ Dalton E. McFarland, *Cooperation and Conflict in Personnel Administration* (New York: American Foundation for Management Research, 1962), p. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

pattern does not exist as a form, but exists in varied forms and he states that none of these forms is an abandonment of the staff principle, which indicates to your authors an unclear perception. The tendency in the future, based upon many findings in small group research,¹⁹ will be to see the staff-and-line concept as not adaptable to the organization as a social system. This will be the case because the line-and-staff concept is based on the assumption that authority and responsibility are delegated downward, which even if true, overemphasizes the *power* of officially constituted authority. Under newer theories of interaction-influence, the influence in the organization will be seen as moving upward and sideways as well as downward.²⁰ Under such conditions separation of staff-and-line will tend to have no significance.

The employee relations function

Examination of the staff-and-line concept is particularly important to this volume because adherence to it tends to allow supervision to dump unpleasant functions into the employee relations unit much as they might dump unwanted material ends into a trashcan. McFarland proposes that the very assignment of functions to the employee relations executive is also done in much the same manner of trashcan dumping.²¹ Thus it is quite evident, today, that the employee relations function offers a convenient place for dumping many functions which if kept in the hands of the supervisor, and manager as supervisor, would tend to strengthen the superior-subordinate matrix and consequently the entire organization.

Though it would be presumptuous to suggest that there will be, in the near future, a reversal of the present practice of dumping a great variety of functions into the employee relations unit, there is reason to believe that such a reversal trend will be established. The greatest impetus toward this trend establishment, though many forces will contribute, is greater interpersonal maturity. More and more organizations are attempting to help their supervisory people gain the personal insights which lead to a greater ability to coordinate the individual outputs in the organization. By design, or not, the fact is that this kind of growth and development requires certain insights. These insights are bound to force a realization that ultimately the supervisory job is satisfying only when the person performing it insists on retaining all the prerogatives that go with it.

¹⁹ Of particular interest in this regard are insights such as reported in Robert F. Bales, "Adaptive and Integrative Changes as Sources of Strain in Social Systems," A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, eds., *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955).

²⁰ See Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1961), pp. 185-87.

²¹ McFarland, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

THE SUPERVISOR'S ROLE

"The proper role for the supervisor might well be to create a climate of growth without having to be at the same time a judge or nominator."²² Creating such a growth climate has been a central theme throughout all of the preceding pages and is here reemphasized as it relates to the organizational trend toward examining the soundness of thinking in terms of the maximization of productivity.

The status quo

Organizational controls normally instituted to bring conformity to the behavioral patterns calculated to maximize productivity all too often work only toward maintaining the *status quo*. With current emphasis on research and development within the organization and increased emphasis on social science research, which is directly related to bureaucratization, the management practitioner is being forced to look seriously at all the traditional management principles—especially management control. As the traditional control concepts are practiced they tend to emphasize action directed toward the behavior which does not conform, for no matter what reason, leaving no room for action that might deviate no matter how strong a positive effect that deviation might have. This practice is sometimes referred to as management by exception.

The controls devised are seen as causing maximum production to occur at any particular point in time. To the contrary, however, the controls tend to become a system for determining action which is to cause punishment, and they tend to condition the supervisor to learn avoidance of the action. He tends not to look for other substitute actions which will stimulate maximum production, but rather looks for the course of action which, no matter how it effects output, will keep him out of trouble. Production is thus not maximized, but the *status quo* is rather maintained, both in terms of output per employee and in terms of the promotion of meaningful experiences which stimulate growth and development.

Judging others

The whole "gambit" fits nicely together into a pattern of neutrality where management designs procedures calculated to maximize production, the supervisor spends his energies avoiding the pain of taking any constructive action that is not prescribed, the subordinates enjoy a reprieve from having to become more efficient, and the new technology fills the gap by providing the hardware which allows greater output per "body on the work force." As the observer watches the whole process, it be-

²² Edgar H. Schein, "Forces Which Undermine Management Development," *California Management Review*, 4:23-34, Summer 1963.

comes evident that inextricably bound therein is the question of judging others.

Supervisors, and most any employee, will gladly spend vast amounts of time judging others—"my drillpress operator is really a clown"; "I can't get my secretary to stop making erasures"; "Tony is the best fork lift operator I have ever had on my gang"; ad infinitum. But having to translate these coffee-break observations into meaningful observations related to maximization of production and feeding them back to the one to whom they apply is yet another matter. The future is bound to bring refinements in systems that will stimulate employee growth and development by, in part, limiting the need for judging personnel effectiveness to those areas of performance related to maximization of production.

Positive stimulus

Supervisors will get more help from top management, in the future; help toward understanding that maximization of output is not related to today, or even to the first quarter of the fiscal year. For his part, the supervisor will find himself more free to practice that innovative sort of thing which will stimulate his subordinates to grow in the job toward greater personal effectiveness. There is a great deal of evidence to indicate that enlightened management continually has a better grasp of the need for the freedom in which growth can take place and a grasp of the fact that heavy pressure through arbitrary control practices sap off a large proportion of human input. There will, in the foreseeable future, be controls within the organizational system, but they will increasingly tend to emphasize the positive rather than the negative. The true "deviant" will not be judged as such by the supervisor, but will only be diagnosed by him as potentially deviant with professionals making the final judgment and prescribing a corrective course of action.

SOCIETAL OBLIGATION OF THE WORK ORGANIZATION

What will management do in terms of hiring the professionals needed to maintain physical and mental health of those employed by the organization? How will they judge their obligation to society? Will "big business" and "big government" find themselves in mortal combat, or will some balance of their obligation for meeting societal needs be agreed to? Your authors find the answers to these questions out of focus in their crystal ball, but there are some trends which will effect the work organization and will particularly effect its role as a part of the total society.

A note on unionization

Union management relations will, of course, have an effect on the outcome of the question at hand. At the moment, there are some observers

who see the labor movement as being in a decline.²³ As a matter of fact the growth of unionism has slowed down and has in some respects lost membership, especially where automation has replaced the blue-collar workers with white-collar workers. In addition it is a matter of record that white-collar groups are more resistant to unionization than are the blue-collar workers. These facts indicate probable trends of "agonizing reappraisals" of the status of the labor movement with more thought given to the role of unionization as it relates to an evolving culture.²⁴ The reappraisal should, in many respects, complement the similar reappraisal of our system of organizing to accomplish the production needed for a healthy society.

On the hiring of health professionals

Industrial medicine has been with us for a number of years as have been professional counseling services and company dispensaries. Some larger organizations have even provided more direct and specific health diagnosis and treatment facilities. Generally speaking, however, the paranoid, the neurotic, the person with the so-called character disorder, the alcoholic, the depressed, and those who show signs of early senility²⁵ generally are either tolerated or dismissed as being beyond the help of the organization.

Business, industry, and government will tend, to some degree, to provide direct treatment services, but it is unlikely that it will, for some time to come at least, be economically feasible to provide adequately all the direct services needed. These organizations will continue to contribute to health insurance premiums, including those which provide for dental care and eventually mental health care, but in addition will be forced to a stronger liaison with agencies which have the basic charge of assuring the total health of the general public. The approach to public health, however, will become more prevention- (and less treatment-) oriented than it is now, partially because of the work organization's vigorous interest in it.

The superior-subordinate matrix and far reaching implications

Though your authors have gone to many sources in an attempt to seek the research result which would help put the superior-subordinate rela-

²³ See Solomon Barkin, *The Decline of the Labor Movement and What Can Be Done About It* (Santa Barbara, Cal.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961).

²⁴ For an appraisal of the status of the movement to unionize the white-collar worker, see Benjamin Solomon and Robert K. Burns, "Unionization of White-Collar Employees: Extent, Potential, and Implications, *The Journal of Business*, 36:141-65, April 1963.

²⁵ For a discussion of these categories, see Silas L. Warner, "Spotting the Neurotic and Helping the Maladjusted," *Personnel Journal*, 36:136-39, September 1957.

tionship into proper focus, sharp focus has not necessarily emerged. It does seem, however, safe to propose that this very basic relationship which pervades all lives, at all ages, has tremendous impact on the individual and ultimately the total society. This, despite the fact that the basic hypothesis of the volume (that a growth climate can be created mainly through the workings of the relationship of the superior and his subordinate) does tend to be an hypothesis worthy of testing, though the reader is cautioned against believing that it has survived a rigid test.

If the reader wishes, he can approach his life in the work organization without firm beliefs, waiting to form a personal philosophy upon the millennium. On the other hand he can adopt, as a philosophy, that which is hypothesized in this volume with some conviction that available research data at least doesn't provide proof of maladaptation on his part. He basically errs only if he fails to contribute to the test of his beliefs or fails to keep current with those research efforts which tend to put them to test.

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